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Discussion of Principles for Cease-Fire Arrangement in Korea

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

Radar is not more sensitive to atmospheric vibrations than the personalities who sit around this great table here and constitute the First Committee of the General Assembly are to the political atmosphere of our times and especially to the atmosphere of this particular meeting of the First Committee. The feeling of gratification which prevails in this room at this moment is a perfectly natural reaction from the agreement reported by the group of three. This fact of agreement is an encouraging event in the history of the United Nations.

As I told the Committee the other day, my Government feels that the United Nations must face the facts of the Chinese Communist aggression against Korea and against the forces of the United Nations. In our view, the free world can not afford to accept this situation without a demonstration of its united will to withstand aggression. Only by so doing, can we maintain the confidence of the peoples of the world in the principles of collective security upon which our Charter is based. And only by so doing, can we maintain our own self-respect and dignity. I am sure that we all agree on such basic ideas and objectives. The immediate problem before us today is what means we choose to advance toward such objectives.

We have before us a supplemental report of the cease-fire group containing a statement of principles which that group and a number of other members of the Committee believe may further our efforts toward a peaceful and honorable solution of the problems that face us.² My Government has given its sincere support to the efforts of the cease-fire group in their diligent search for a peaceful solution.

As the group has already reported to this Committee, their efforts have been rebuffed by the Chinese Communist regime. Nevertheless, the

cease-fire group believes that the new effort proposed by them may perhaps open another channel for achievement by negotiation of the objectives of the United Nations in Korea. A substantial number of the members of the United Nations are in favor of supporting this recommendation of the group of three.

A principal objective of the United States is to maintain the strength of the United Nations by promoting the unity of the members who are genuinely dedicated to the support of the collective security system. In view of the fact that the cease-fire group itself, and a numerous body of members, view this proposed step as offering a basis upon which to maintain the unity of the free world, I shall vote in favor of the proposal which has been tabled or if it does not arrive in that manner, or if the question arises on a resolution of transmittal, I shall vote in favor of that. My Government is in accord with the principles embodied in the statement and to the draft resolution such as I have indicated.

The principles themselves provide a restatement of the essential policy which the United Nations has followed in its efforts to seek a peaceful solution and maintain the basic position of the United Nations that there must be a cessation of hostilities before there can be any hope for successful negotiations. The statement of principles makes

Resolution Adopted By Committee I

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/651
Adopted Jan. 13, 1951

The First Committee

Invites the Chairman of the First Committee through the Secretary-General to transmit the principles approved by it on 13 January 1951 to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and invite them to inform him as soon as possible whether they accept these principles as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and other Far Eastern problems. Upon the receipt of the reply from the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China the Chairman of the First Committee will convene the Committee to consider that reply.

¹ Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Jan. 11 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

² For text of the group's first report, see BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1951, p. 113.

it clear that further steps can be taken for the restoration of peace as a result of a formal cease-fire arrangement or a lull in hostilities pending the working out of the details of the cease-fire arrangement. The statement also maintains the objective of the United Nations that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign state with a constitution and government based upon free popular elections. The arrangements for reaching these objectives are to be in accordance with United Nations principles.

We feel that enough time should be allowed to transmit these principles to the Peiping regime and to receive their reply, but we feel that a limitation of time is important in the world situation. If this effort fails to produce the hoped-for result, I have a strong feeling that we shall be firmly united in opposing aggression.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE GROUP ON CEASE-FIRE IN KOREA

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/645
Dated Jan. 11, 1951

The objective shall be the achievement, by stages, of the programme outlined below for a cease-fire in Korea, for the establishment of a free and united Korea, and for a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern problems.

1. In order to prevent needless destruction of life and property, and while other steps are being taken to restore peace, a cease-fire should be immediately arranged. Such an arrangement should contain adequate safeguards for ensuring that it will not be used as a screen for mounting a new offensive.

2. If and when a cease-fire occurs in Korea, either as a result of a formal arrangement or, indeed, as a result of a lull in hostilities pending some such arrangement, advantage should be taken of it to pursue consideration of further steps to be taken for the restoration of peace.

3. To permit the carrying out of the General Assembly resolution that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign State with a constitution and a government based on free popular elections, all non-Korean armed forces will be withdrawn, by appropriate stages, from Korea, and appropriate arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the Korean people to express their own free will in respect of their future government.

4. Pending the completion of the steps referred to in the preceding paragraph, appropriate interim arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security there.

5. As soon as agreement has been reached on a cease-fire, the General Assembly shall set up an appropriate body which shall include representa-

tives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China with a view to the achievement of a settlement, in conformity with existing international obligations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, of Far Eastern problems, including, among others, those of Formosa (Taiwan) and of representation of China in the United Nations.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[Released to the press January 17]

At his press conference today, Secretary Acheson made the following statement:

There has been a good deal of discussion in this country regarding the latest cease-fire proposal in the United Nations and why this Government voted for it. I should like to comment briefly on this matter.

First. The proposal was put forward by the Cease-Fire Committee—the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Pearson of Canada, Sir Benegal Rau of India. It had the support of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations members. This support was founded on two principal attitudes. One was the belief of many members that the Chinese Communists might still be prevailed upon to cease their defiance of the United Nations. While we did not share this belief, we recognized that it was sincerely held by many members.

The second attitude was that, even though there might be little prospect of success in the approach to Peiping, the United Nations should leave no stone unturned in its efforts to find a peaceful solution. Holders of each view believed and

Chinese Communists Reject Cease-Fire Proposal

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[Released to the press January 17]

The reply of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations cease-fire proposal is still further evidence of their contemptuous disregard of a world-wide demand for peace. Their so-called "counterproposal" is nothing less than an outright rejection.

Once again, the Peiping regime has shown a total lack of interest in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

There can no longer be any doubt that the United Nations has explored every possibility of finding a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Now, we must face squarely and soberly the fact that the Chinese Communists have no intention of ceasing their defiance of the United Nations.

I am confident that the United Nations will do that. The strength of the United Nations will lie in the firmness and unity with which we now move ahead.

stated to us that opposition or abstention by the United States would destroy any possibility of success which the proposal might have.

Peaceful settlement is one of the cardinal purposes of the United Nations. The resort to force in Korea came from the North Koreans first and the Chinese Communists second. The United Nations has constantly demanded that this should end and that the United Nations objectives should be attained by peaceful means—we have stood and still stand for this position. Also, it has been our goal to so act as to maintain the unity of the free nations against aggression which has marked the United Nations actions in Korea. Accordingly, we voted for the resolution to demonstrate our adherence to these basic principles even though we did not share the beliefs of other members, mentioned above, that it would achieve its purpose.

Second. As to what the five principles mean:

If they are accepted, first, there would be a cease-fire in Korea. Then, after the fighting has stopped, there would be negotiations among all interested parties to find a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other outstanding problems in the Far East.

The five principles contain three elements: (1) a termination of hostilities in Korea; after the cease-fire has become effective, two further steps are contemplated; (2) arrangements to insure the achievement of United Nations objectives of an independent and democratic Korea by peaceful means and the withdrawal by appropriate stages of all non-Korean troops; and (3) a discussion of Far Eastern problems.

These principles are entirely consistent with the United Nations Charter, United Nations objectives in Korea, and United States policy. The General Assembly resolution of October 7 made it clear that United Nations forces should not remain in Korea longer than necessary to achieve United Nations objectives there.

We don't want our troops in Korea longer than is absolutely necessary. If satisfactory arrangements for an independent and democratic Korea are put into effect, there is no longer any reason for maintaining United Nations forces in Korea.

The fifth principle provides for discussions on Far Eastern problems and stipulates four of the parties which will participate. It goes without saying that other parties with interests in Far Eastern problems will also participate. It mentions two of the problems which should be considered at a conference on Far Eastern problems—Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations. We have discussed these questions freely in the past, stated our views frankly, and also stated that the problems should be settled by the peaceful means of discussion and debate. There is no reason why we should oppose discussion of these questions in the future under proper circumstances. If such a conference is held, there

will undoubtedly be other items on the agenda, including some which the United States may wish to add. Obviously, we have not committed ourselves on any questions which might be discussed.

CHINESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO U. N. CEASE-FIRE ORDER

U.N. doc. A/C.1/653
Dated Jan. 17, 1951

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the cablegram dated 13 January 1951, transmitted by Mr. Owen at the request of the First Committee of the General Assembly, on the principles concerning the Korean and other Far Eastern problems. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China I wish to reply as follows:

1. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has always maintained and still maintains that a rapid termination of the hostilities in Korea should be sought by negotiations among the various countries concerned with a view to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by the Koreans themselves; that United States Armed Forces must be withdrawn from Taiwan (Formosa); and that the representatives of the People's Republic of China must assume their rightful place in the United Nations. These principles were also mentioned in my statement of 22 December 1950, transmitted by cable to Mr. Entezam, president of the General Assembly, on the same day, and are now well known to the whole world.

2. On 13 January 1951, the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly adopted without the participation of the representative of the People's Republic of China various principles concerning the Korean and other Far Eastern problems, the basic points of which are still the arrangement of a cease-fire in Korea first and the conducting of negotiations among the various countries concerned afterwards. The purpose of arranging a cease-fire first is merely to give the United States troops a breathing space. Therefore, regardless of what the agenda and subject-matter of the negotiations may be, if a cease-fire comes into effect without first conducting negotiations to fix the conditions therefor, negotiations after the cease-fire may entail endless discussions without solving any problems. Besides this fundamental point, the other principles are also not clearly defined. It is not clearly stated whether the so-called existing international obligations refer to the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, and this may easily be utilized to defend the position of aggression maintained by the United States in Korea, Taiwan and other parts of the Far East. We understand that many countries in the First Committee agreed to the principles adopted on 13 January 1951 because of their desire for peace. It must be pointed out, however, that the principle of a cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards would only help the United States to maintain and extend its aggression, and could never lead to genuine peace.

Therefore the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China cannot agree to this principle.

3. With a view to a genuine and peaceful solution of the Korean problem and other important Asian problems, I hereby submit, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the following proposals to the United Nations:

A. Negotiations should be held among the countries concerned on the basis of agreement to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of Korean domestic affairs by the Korean People themselves,

in order to put an end to the hostilities in Korea at an early date.

B. The subject-matter of the negotiations must include the withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and Far Eastern related problems;

C. The countries to participate in the negotiations should be the following seven countries: the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, India and Egypt, and the rightful place of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be established as from the beginning of the Seven-Nation Conference;

D. The Seven-Nation Conference should be held in China, at a place to be selected.

4. If the above-mentioned proposals are agreed to by the countries concerned and by the United Nations, we believe that it will be conducive to the prompt termination of the hostilities in Korea and to the peaceful settlement of Asian problems to hold negotiations as soon as possible.

CHOU EN-LAI,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China,

PEKING, 17 January 1951

U.N. Collective Action Urged Against Communist Regime in China

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations¹

I have examined with care the answer that Mr. Chou En-lai has sent to this Committee. I must say that I have found in it no echo of sympathy to the generous offer that this committee made to the Peiping regime by a vote of 50 to 7 on January 13. I have examined the response in vain for some indication that the Chinese Communists are aware that over the past 5 weeks, the greater part of the civilized world—the nations that believe in peace—have made three separate efforts to persuade the Peiping regime to cease its aggression against the United Nations and to adopt instead the way of peaceful negotiation.

Three times we have turned our cheek. Three times our sincere efforts for peace have been scorned as weakness and treated with derision.

On December 16, 1950, the cease-fire group requested from the Peiping regime and is representative at Lake Success, General Wu, an opportunity to discuss arrangements for a cease-fire in order to provide opportunity for considering what further steps should be taken for a peaceful settlement of existing issues, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

On December 21, Mr. Chou En-lai replied that his regime considered null and void all major resolutions, especially those concerning Asia, which the United Nations might adopt without participation and approval of his regime. Mr. Chou refused to allow General Wu to remain longer at Lake Success and contemptuously referred to the cease-fire committee as "the illegal three-man committee."

Meanwhile, on the 19th of December, the United Nations cease-fire group had dispatched a second message to the Peiping authorities. In this message, the group indicated that once a cease-fire had been achieved, a committee could meet with the

Chinese Communists to recommend peaceful settlement of existing issues in the Far East.

On December 23, the President of the General Assembly received a reply from Peiping to the second message. The message repeated Peiping's reference to the "illegal three-man committee." It echoed the same wild charges of "American aggression" that we have heard so often from the Soviet representative here. It made the familiar claim that the several hundred thousand Chinese regular troops now in Korea are only "volunteers." And it made the charge that the proposals suggested by a group of Arab and Asian nations were only a trap engineered by United States intrigue.

No Stone Unturned

Mr. President, even that did not entirely discourage members of this Committee. Some members of the United Nations believed that—even then—the Chinese Communists might still be prevailed upon to cease their defiance of all the free world. Some members believed we should leave no stone unturned in our efforts to find a peaceful solution.

Some members of this Committee suggested that a third attempt might win agreement from the Peiping regime. Those members stated to us that opposition or abstention by the United States would destroy any possibility of success that a third attempt might have.

You know that on last Saturday, the United States, mindful of the fact that the greatest strength of the United Nations lies in its unity, voted for the cease-fire commission's statement of principles.

Some have accused the United Nations of an excess of forbearance. In Peiping, our forbearance seems to have strengthened the contempt in which this organization is apparently held by

¹ Made before Committee I (Political and Security) of the General Assembly on Jan. 18 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

those whose conquest of their native land is a matter of such recent history.

We have now received the evidence of this attitude in the final rebuff of our peaceable approaches to the Chinese Communist regime.

What—in fact—does that regime say?

They say that they will not agree to a cease-fire followed by negotiations on Far Eastern problems.

The Chinese Communists demand the right to continue their assault on the United Nations until negotiations are concluded.

But that is not all. They insist that before any talks are held their regime be admitted to the United Nations as the official representative of China.

Nor is that all. They insist that as a condition of negotiations on the question of Formosa, the

United Nations must accept in advance the principle that American forces should be withdrawn, thus bringing an end to the policy of neutralizing the island and limiting the area of the conflict in Korea.

They tell the United Nations that they will talk only with representatives of six particular countries, which they name.

They announce that they will choose the place as well, and that the six countries must come to them.

If all these conditions are fulfilled, Mr. Chou and his colleagues may agree to a cease-fire.

But if the result of such negotiations should displease the Chinese Communists, what would be the consequences?

If the Communists are not seated as the representatives of China before cease-fire and before negotiations, will they then break into the United Nations with mortars and grenades?

Unfaithful to the characteristics, traditions and interests of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communists have put their necks into the Soviet collar.

They cannot make an honest acceptance. The very phrases of their response are those of the Soviet rulers. Those old tricks with which we are so familiar are there in that response. The tricks of dialectics found in this response have the label of the Politburo. For example, there is the false label, that is, falsehoods stated as facts. In this very telegram, they say, of the proposal of a cease-fire which we made, that the purpose is merely to obtain a "breathing space" for the United States troops. Another trick, concealing their own guilt, was accusation of the same crime of which they are guilty, accusation of others. Thus, and I quote from their reply, we see the phrase "to defend the position of aggression maintained by the United States in Korea," and, again, "would only help the United States to maintain and extend its aggression." We have heard this before from another source, have we not?

Then there is that ancient trick, the "stop thief" trick. They said in their telegram that the basis of this negotiation must be withdrawal from Korea of all foreign troops, meaning, though concealing that meaning, the troops of the United Nations. All others, even Chinese Communist armies, are labeled volunteers, and thus they are presumed to belong to Korean troops and are not included in the Communist counterproposal.

Really this response is not Chinese; it is their masters' response, that of the Soviet ruling circles. Why, the Chinese Communist regime must regard the United Nations as a very trivial and contemptible body indeed to have sent us such a reply. I do not think this reply is of a character to occupy much of our time. The response of the Chinese Communist regime differs from earlier responses in only one respect; the absurd fiction that the Chinese Communists' attack on Korea was being conducted by individual volunteers seems to have been abandoned. The Peiping regime seems to begin to

Text of U.S. Resolution ¹

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/654
Dated Jan. 20, 1950

The General Assembly

NOTING that the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, has failed to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in regard to Chinese Communist intervention in Korea;

NOTING that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has rejected all United Nations proposals to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement, and that its armed forces continue their invasion of Korea and their large-scale attacks upon United Nations forces there;

Finds that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, by giving direct aid and assistance to those who were already committing aggression in Korea and by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces there, has itself engaged in aggression in Korea;

Calls upon the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to cause its forces and nationals in Korea to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea;

Affirms the determination of the United Nations to continue its action in Korea to meet the aggression;

Calls upon all states and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea;

Calls upon all states and authorities to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors in Korea;

Requests a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committees as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereon to the General Assembly;

Affirms that it continues to be the policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and the achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and

Requests the president of the General Assembly to designate forthwith two persons who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices to this end.

¹ Introduced before Committee I (Political and Security) of the General Assembly on Jan. 20.

assume responsibility for its actions in Korea. The statement speaks throughout of the regime's attitude, the regime's motives, the regime's plans and intentions. Is it true that the regime now openly seeks to use its armed forces in Korea as an instrument to blackmail the United Nations into acceptance of its demands? Since the regime has now apparently publicly accepted the responsibility, it follows, does it not, that it must accept the consequences?

The cease-fire effort has failed. We have failed—not because of any lack of effort or good will on the part of the United Nations—but because those who fear and hate the United Nations have derided our effort and mocked our good will.

So be it. I trust that this gesture may not be too costly to the Chinese people—I put the emphasis where it belongs: the Chinese people—whose destinies presently lie within the power of Peiping.

We have more important work for us today than this holding of post-mortem examination of our dead hopes. That work is to build a structure of collective security so firmly that neither the Chinese Communists nor any other aggressor power can shatter it.

We are called upon to deal with some fundamental truths in our deliberations today, Mr. President. This is a duty that no member of this committee can shirk. For it is a question of life or death—for the United Nations as a whole—and even for individuals related closely to this organization.

We must face the fact that aggression has been committed.

We cannot—we will not—fail at this great crossroads in the existence of the United Nations.

A regime that controls vast manpower and vast territories has defied the United Nations. It is seeking to destroy a country that sought only the elementary right guaranteed by our Charter to live and to be independent. At this instant, young men from many of our countries are dying, in order to uphold the right of that small country to be free and independent.

Mr. President, when the Charter of the United Nations was signed,

the peoples of the United Nations determined . . . to reaffirm faith . . . in the equal rights . . . of nations large and small.

We determined then—

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.

The first purpose of this organization includes

to take effective collective measures . . . for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

Among our first principles is that—

all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means . . . and . . . refrain . . . from the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state.

Further, it is stated,

all members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

Must Examine Purposes

I recall these sentences from our Charter because this is a time when we must examine our first purposes and principles in order that their validity may be tested by the flame of experience.

A powerful regime has committed aggression. We must consider calmly and soberly what we shall do. The world watches us for upon our decision much depends.

Shall there be one law for a small power and another for a great power?

Or shall we try to apply the law only to small aggressions—and turn our faces the other way when a powerful regime commits a big aggression?

I do not believe we can do that. We cannot do that if we believe that the rule of law is higher than the rule of force.

No nation is strong enough to stand alone unaided. The weak must depend on the strong and the strong depend on the weak. Together we are secure. Separated, none of us is secure.

Security is indivisible. Once we start slicing it up into bits and pieces it no longer exists. We cannot let one nation fall unheeded before aggression—and expect to protect another nation at some future date.

I say that if we should do that we should destroy here and now the principle of collective security on which the safety of our nations rests.

I believe that if we did that, the peoples of the world would turn away not only from the United Nations but from the principle of the interdependence of nations.

Since last June 25, this organization has done what no world-wide union of nations has ever done. We have taken collective action under law to repel aggression. It was not to wage war; it was to make the peace-making functions of the United Nations prevail.

House Passes Resolution on Communist China¹

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United Nations should immediately act and declare the Chinese Communist authorities an aggressor in Korea.

¹ Introduced to the House of Representatives by Rep. John M. McCormack of Massachusetts, Democratic leader of the House, with the collaboration of the Republican leader, Rep. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts on Jan. 19 and passed by the House on the same date.

We know that we cannot win peace by remaining passive in the face of aggression. We are all familiar with that beautiful animal, the rabbit; he is lovely to look at. But you know of course that he has no courage, that he has no character. In the presence of danger he squats; he sits down. Even the house cat that does not weigh as much as the rabbit can break the rabbit's neck because of the rabbit's lack of determination and courage. He has the equipment by which he may run away and outrun any cat that lives. We can only achieve peace by firm resolve and determined, continuous effort.

A fundamental principle of the Charter outlaws armed aggression. Under our law it is a crime.

Let us show by our determination, by the resolutions we take and by our acts that no power can defy this principle with impunity. Humanity demands this. If we should fail humanity at this period, we would be denying the hopes of millions of people in every land under the sun. That would be a grave decision for us around this table to take.

Prompt Action Urged

The existing attack by the Chinese Communists and North Koreans challenges us to strengthen the ties that bind most of us—and most of the world—together in equality and security. Time—and time enough—has already gone by. We must act while we can, for if we wait, we may find our young unity permanently broken up.

My Government has given lengthy and careful thought to the problems that confront us—to some of which I have alluded. My Government believes that the United Nations should not shrink from facing up to the aggression that is being committed in Korea by the Chinese Communist regime of Peiping.

That aggression is part of the world-wide pattern of centrally directed Soviet imperialism. It is an aggression which clearly serves no legitimate Chinese national interest, but only the interests of that expanding power which, under the guise of throwing off the yokes of an old and discredited colonialism, would impose a new and far more rigorous colonialism upon the peoples of Asia struggling to emerge to full national independence.

The United Nations has had experience in the past with this expansionist power. The chain of crises has run from Iran through Greece and Berlin back across the world to Korea. The United Nations has learned from these past experiences that each crisis was met only by our determination to stand together. In each crisis, our standing together has had the eventual effect of bringing the Soviet imperialist power to a standstill. Our united resolution has compelled at least temporary stabilizations.

We must hope that by our united resolution now we can once again bring those responsible for this new aggression to realize that flinging its armies

against the United Nations is in the long run neither prudent for the regime nor helpful to the welfare of the Chinese people whom Peiping now controls. I hope that that realization will not be too long delayed.

Because the aggression in Korea is part of a world-wide pattern, my Government believes that the actions we take in the United Nations must be tailored to fit that pattern. Our program of action must take into account the distribution of power in the world and the imminence of danger elsewhere. What is important, in our view, is that by facing up to this threat to the collective security of the world, the United Nations should discourage present or future aggression.

Action Consistent With Facts

My Government believes that the United Nations should now adopt a resolution which notes the facts and recommends action consistent with the facts. The facts are that the Peiping regime has rejected efforts to bring about a cease-fire in Korea, has rejected proposals aimed at a peaceful settlement, and has continued its invasion of Korea and its attacks upon the United Nations forces there.

In view of these facts, it is clear to my Government that the Peiping regime has committed aggression and that the General Assembly must say so. We believe that the General Assembly should call upon the Peiping regime to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw its forces from Korea. We believe that the General Assembly should affirm the determination of the United Nations to continue its efforts to meet the aggression in Korea. We believe the General Assembly should call upon all states and authorities to lend their assistance to the United Nations, and to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors.

(Continued on page 198)

Letters of Credence

Ecuador

The newly appointed Ambassador of Ecuador, Señor Don Luis Antonio Peñaherrera, presented his credentials to the President on January 17. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 36 of January 17.

Spain

The newly appointed Ambassador of Spain, Señor Don José Félix de Lequerica y Erquiza, presented his credentials to the President on January 17. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 35 of January 17.

The Road Ahead in Collective Defense of Free Nations

by Ambassador Warren R. Austin¹

I welcome this opportunity to meet with the leaders of the university world, to turn for a little while from the international conference table and talk with my fellow Americans about the difficult road ahead.

To get our bearings, let us begin by recalling a few of the milestones along the way we have come to this critical fork in the road. We will be guided by what we have learned on the journey, especially during the last decade.

International Situation in 1941

Ten years ago, we were engaged in a great debate on foreign policy. In the midst of that debate, France had fallen to the so-called "invincible forces of Hitler." In January 1941, Britain was being blasted by the Luftwaffe and threatened with imminent invasion.

Do you remember that milestone set by Winston Churchill when he pitted the spirit of an almost defenseless Britain against the full fury of a victorious Nazi military machine? Surveyed by the cold eye of a practical analyst, has the situation of the free world ever seemed more hopeless? Yet, in retrospect, that undaunted British courage marked the turning point.

At that time, two national committees led the debate in the United States. One called "America First" was really pleading that America be last on the aggressor's list of victims. The other called "Defend America by Aiding the Allies" found, month by month, fewer allies left. But it did muster the public opinion needed to create an "arsenal of democracy" in America.

It was not difficult in those days for the defeatists to paint a dark and hopeless picture. They arrayed the statistics on the hundreds of Nazi and Fascist divisions, their overwhelming air

power, and thousands of tanks, which made the rescued battalions from Dunkirk and the little fleet of Spitfires look like sick chickens.

The picture was to become still darker. In December 1941, much of the Pacific fleet lay in ruins in Pearl Harbor. The Philippines, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Thailand, and Indochina were quickly seized by the Axis. But America was at last on the march, in step with its Allies. The great debate was over. And the next milestone was marked with words: "Declaration of the United Nations." Many of these United Nations were already occupied and fighting through underground forces.

Soon, we were devoting almost 40 percent of our national production to the common cause of victory. We realized then, as we should now, that weapons and supplies delivered to the hands of our Allies were as damaging to the common enemy as those carried by our own forces to battle. We could only regret that we hadn't started to lend-lease the tools of defense from the "arsenal of democracy" when there were still hands on the continent of Europe able and eager to use them.

In the process, we discovered something about ourselves and our economic system. We found out that, before the war, we were living up to less than half of our creative capacity. Under the spur of necessity, our production doubled in spite of the fact that millions of workers were taken away from the farms and out of the factories to serve in the armed forces.

We learned something else about our economic system. Operating in high gear, it was eating up terrific quantities of raw materials and resources, many of which were in short supply in this hemisphere. We desperately depended upon far-flung free markets around the world to procure the essential material for a highly technical and refined industry. Fortunately, we found many of these things still outside the reach of the Axis. While our Allies held the enemy at bay, we hastily built new industries to produce synthetics and sub-

¹ Excerpts from an address made before the Association of American Colleges at Atlantic City, N.J., on Jan. 9 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

stitutes for those required resources already denied us by the enemy.

Then we realized that, if we were permanently cut off from certain vitamins of industry, we could be starved and weakened in critical sectors of our economy without an enemy crossing an ocean to get at Washington. Then, we saw how we had almost been made ready for the kill by an enemy determined to encircle and isolate us. This milestone in experience we must now remember.

The Hope of the U.N.

While the United Nations fought successfully to turn back the tide of aggression, they began to plan a system of collective security to prevent or stop future aggression. This was embodied in the United Nations Charter.

The great hope at San Francisco was that the member nations, and especially the large powers, would faithfully carry out the obligations to which they pledged themselves and cooperate in building the collective security system called for by the Charter. That hope was sabotaged by one powerful member.

What did that member sabotage? The principles and the efforts of all the other members to organize a system of collective security.

Shall we conclude, then, that the principles were wrong? No, the principles are right. The more they are flouted by a few, the closer all the others must unite to uphold them.

Shall we conclude from this record of obstruction that a system of collective security is futile and the effort to develop such a system should be abandoned? No, the belligerent behavior of a few makes it all the more necessary to proceed without delay to build up the system of collective security.

We are engaged now in doing it. Let us recall two more events from the past.

Unilateral Disarmament After World War II

After the war we took the lead in going off on a dangerous detour marked: unilateral disarmament. We created a military vacuum in Europe before making peace. But the Soviet Union did not follow our lead. It was a perfectly natural impulse of a peace-loving democracy to want to enjoy the liberties which had been preserved. "Bring the boys home" was an almost universal cry. We demobilized, put the ships and planes in moth balls, and converted industry back to peacetime production of the good things of life.

There were other mistakes of judgment and policy, but this was the crucial one. Let him who did not concur in it throw the first stone.

Repulsing Aggression in Korea

In the records of the United Nations, you will find the most recent milestone on the road to today.

For the first time in history, an international organization acted to stop and repulse an aggressor when the North Korean Communists launched their attack on the Republic of Korea.

Without an organized system of collective security in being, with only the most limited military establishments available, and those widely dispersed, the United Nations—53 of them—pledged their support to the victim of aggression.

Five long years of perplexing and frustrating experience lay behind that act of faith and courage. Patiently, they had sought peace and security according to the terms of the Charter.

Time after time, they had averted or stopped conflicts in tinderbox areas where new world conflagrations might have got started. And against every contrary sign, they nursed the hope that, given time and patience, the majority could stay the hand of the trouble-making minority.

Year by year, these members of the United Nations witnessed the unfolding of the Soviet design for aggression, albeit through the fog of the most confusing double-talk. They had all, to some extent, suffered the lash of Soviet invective. Some hoped that the barking dog would not bite.

It has not been easy for Americans to endure the insults and accusations heaped upon our country and to defend our honor with dignity. But we were not alone. I say, in all seriousness, that the unity of 1950 was, in large measure, the result of the unreasonable, arrogant assaults of the Soviet spokesmen upon the sensibilities of the other delegations.

It is no easy decision for small countries on the doorstep of a belligerent giant, or for nations which have long escaped the horrors of war by neutrality, or for large countries struggling to their feet after being trampled by a brutal invader—I say it is no easy decision for such countries to stand up and be counted against the determined will of the world's most heavily armed empire.

We have never suffered the torture of modern war as the victim of a ruthless attack. We have not had to dig out of the wreckage and labor in tears to rebuild a battered civilization. We can only imagine what courage it takes for such a people, whose every fiber cries out for a respite of peace, to unite in their weakness with others to resist a far-off aggression.

From every quarter of the globe, without advance plans, specialized training or scheduled transport, fighting forces—land, sea, and air—began to converge on the besieged tip of Korea. By December—less than 6 months after the Communist aggression—forces from 14 nations were in action under the United Nations command. It is well to remember that, in World War I, it took the United States 18 months to get into action in Europe.

In numbers, the largest forces were the defending Koreans, more than matching the total from

all the others. The American forces came next, being closest to the scene of the aggression. Units contributed by small nations, while not large in numbers, represented a significant proportion of their inadequate standing defenses.

Yet, events proved that the forces brought against the original aggressor were adequate to resist and repulse him. At the same time, even larger forces were engaged against Communist assaults in other areas. Most of the free world stood guard against threats and pressures from Hong Kong to Berlin.

This is the miracle of our times. Such courage and foresight have never before been shown by men of such varied races, languages, customs, and national circumstances. This first improvised collective action against aggression is not to be measured by a slide rule but by an imaginative understanding of the spirit which animated the undertaking. With that spirit, numbers can be raised up for the future and the power of the free world mobilized.

I recall the trials and tribulations of George Washington as he patiently strove to unite and keep united 13 colonies and Vermont clustered together in one area, sharing the same language and traditions, each one under direct assault. Then, I am amazed and uplifted by the progress the United Nations has, thus far, made in an infinitely more complicated attempt at collective defense.

Unique Power of Retaliation

Consider for a few minutes the shape and reality of the situation about us. Let us see what we have to work with to meet the dangers that beset us.

In weapons and armed forces we are generally deficient everywhere in the free world. We are confronted by hundreds of trained divisions, millions of reserves, vast arsenals of modern weapons, and fleets of planes.

In relative preparedness, we are far down the list of nations, save in atomic weapons, air power, and naval strength. But those last three items are not to be shrugged off as inconsequential. In all three, we are growing in strength by leaps and bounds.

This power of retaliation is our bulwark for peace and gives the aggressor pause. It is not for the moment what is in front of him but what can come over him that immobilizes his overwhelming strength on the ground. This is a shield behind which power can be built and the free world united in practical collective measures.

We have a plan for collective measures. It was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 52-5 a few weeks ago as part of the resolution entitled, "United Action for Peace."

Out of the frustrations of past attempts to organize the collective security system, out of the Korean experience, and out of a rising determina-

tion to broaden and strengthen the free world front against aggression, this plan emerged. Its realization and operation is subject to no veto. It depends only upon the will of the members to plan and act together.

By this program each nation will mobilize, equip, and train special contingents to be on call for united action. A Collective Measures Committee is established to advise each nation how to prepare these contingents for participation in collective defense, to work out problems of transport and supply, and to coordinate these forces for combined operations.

The lack of this agreement and advance planning was the most serious handicap in mobilizing a United Nations force in Korea. Units of different languages, training and types of weapons are difficult to coordinate at best. Now, we have the agreement on what the members shall do to be ready and the plan for doing it.

Behind this global plan just now undertaken are the matured programs of the Organization of American States and the Atlantic Pact.

The Organization of American States is a reliable brotherhood of 21 nations on this hemisphere, united in moral power, cooperating in building up physical strength, and a vital manifestation of United Nations substance and form.

General Eisenhower has begun putting the pieces of the Atlantic alliance together behind the shield of our unique power of retaliation. Only those who doubted that General Eisenhower could unite a broken, beaten team behind its own goalposts in 1942 and win, will doubt that he can mobilize the defenses of the Western world now. It can be done. And the fact that it is being done will daily add new deterrents.

This is the shape of the collective defense. It is miles ahead of what the defeatists thought was our hopeless position 10 years ago.

The Free World Economic Position

In population, resources, and productive capacity, the free world has at least a 2-1 lead over its adversary. In some critical components of defense, such as oil and steel, it has an even greater lead.

Its vast and varied resources are brought together in the machine shops of Europe and America largely by sea—the most effective form of transportation. Within its industrialized continents we find a highly developed and efficient rail, road, and air transportation system, far beyond anything the opponent could hope to develop over decades. In this transport system, lies the strength of mobility.

The recuperative power of the free world after the most devastating of wars has surprised even the most optimistic. The predictions of postwar economic chaos and collapse—even of recession—

never materialized. Instead, the economies of the free world raced ahead of prewar levels in a few short years.

The productive capacity of the world's second greatest industrial workshop, which is Western Europe, is about 50 percent greater than when Hitler seized it. From its expanded productive power, Europe is capable of turning out yearly many times the value of our 10 billion dollar investment in its recovery.

Having laid the foundations for social stability and self-defense through the most remarkable feat of voluntary regional cooperation in all history, we shall now surprise ourselves again by building a Gibraltar in the path of the aggressor. If the time be short, we waste not a second of it as hypnotized spectators watching and waiting.

We did not help to build those foundations for freedom only to abandon them without a struggle to be used as a launching platform for an assault against us.

Other areas of the free world are just beginning to draw upon a new source of strength. Asia arouses herself in her new-found freedom. Facing the accumulated problems of centuries, a dozen new-born nations draw upon the technical assistance of the United Nations to develop their independent future.

As they have witnessed the self-proclaimed "liberator" loot the factories of Manchuria and haul away food from famine-stricken China, they have reluctantly recognized the threat of a new colonialism. Great patience and understanding are required of us as a billion people slowly work their way through the morass of Communist propaganda and promises toward realism. The United Nations has been a great classroom for them. There, they have been learning the true nature of the Soviet "bear" who so cunningly approaches them in sheep's clothing.

Spiritual Resources of the Free World

This leads, naturally, to the third, and most important factor in the free world situation today, the spiritual resources.

In this regard, Americans dwell in the "privileged sanctuary" of the free world. The well-springs of our spiritual strength are beyond the range of the totalitarian propaganda squadrons. Only a few timid souls who have lost contact with the spirit of the freedom revolution which began on this Continent, regard the revival of despotism as a "wave of the future."

We know the power of other men's faith to uplift the spirit of confused and harassed citizens and soldiers. The arrival of Lafayette with his token forces and material aid from France did not so materially alter George Washington's military situation. He revived the spirit of resistance which, in turn, mobilized the power of resistance. The very phrase, "The Yanks Are Coming," con-

veyed new strength to the flagging forces of France in 1917.

Hear the Churchillian ring of these words from an appeal addressed to me by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, Ben Limb, a week ago:

Our Government is standing firm, and our people are united in their determination to fight to the last. . . We will fight like wildcats to defend our own. We are content to fight in cotton jackets and with straw sandals upon our feet. We shall trudge through the valleys and climb over the hills. We shall fight with our backs to the mountains and the surrounding seas. We shall fight in fair weather and foul.

Our Policy for Future Action

And the road ahead? What shall be our policy?

1. To stand steadfast by the principles for which we have entered the lists of the United Nations in Korea. While continuing to welcome an honorable and peaceful settlement, we must never let the aggressor, be he large or small, convert temporary military successes into defeat for those principles.

That is the high strategy. For the day-to-day tactics, we must rely upon consultations of the United Nations and decisions of the commanders, secure, however, in the knowledge that no responsible authority proposes to march into the morass of the China mainland.

2. To arm ourselves and the free world as speedily as possible, giving every evidence of our united determination to build a genuine system of collective defense behind the shield of our present power of retaliation.

3. To expand our production and to cut out the waste and luxuries as the sound and wholly practical means of doing all that needs to be done to deter further aggression or, if need be, to repel and destroy the aggressor by collective force.

Having the most to lose, we have the most to save. We are not trying to save our individual skins and our personal conveniences today but to assure the future of a free society in a peaceful world tomorrow. For that, no effort or sacrifice is too much to ask.

4. To continue wise investments in the expansion of productivity in Western Europe and to expand technical assistance to underdeveloped areas.

Only by imagination and daring in applying the dynamics of democracy can the free world rise above the regimented forces of the Soviet empire. The preponderance of potential power must be rapidly translated into dependable and united strength, capable of deterring aggression from without and preventing disintegration from within.

We dare not court the slow bankruptcy which comes from the whittling away of the free world preponderance of power. For, by that route, the enemy would gain the preponderance in people, resources, and production. Once he had insulated

us, he could regiment this overwhelming power to harass and drive us into material and spiritual bankruptcy without setting foot on our soil.

We will not let that happen.

The road ahead will be uphill, strewn with disappointments, dangers, and uncertainties.

At this very moment, holding fast to the principles and purposes, the members of the United Nations confront a turbulence of ideas over methods to meet the new invasion launched by the Chinese Communist regime.

The high strategy is the foundation of our present unity. But tactics and timing are issues for consultation and consensus. It is of the essence that we all move together in the United Nations, and, take my word for it, we will.

We are striving now for a strong, united position, featuring four main points:

First: a finding that the Communist regime in China has flouted United Nations authority and has committed aggression in Korea;

Second: a reaffirmation of United Nations purposes in Korea, calling for the withdrawal of the invader and for all members to refrain from assisting the aggressor;

Third: a call to each member to support action decided upon by the United Nations, in proportion to its ability; and

Fourth: a move to activate immediately the Collective Measures Committee to consider the means to meet existing aggression and prevent further aggression.

This generation of Americans is called upon to take world leadership in building the first collective security system in history. If it acts with the full energy of which a free society is capable, with loyalty to its allies and faith in the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause, this generation will yet stay the hand of the aggressor and set foot on the road to permanent peace. But, if it falters and is afraid, tries to build Maginot Lines around its own comforts, leaving its allies to their separate fates, in my judgment, war would be inevitable. And, if it should come to that, we would pay dearly in lives and treasure for our lack of faith at this crucial hour.

Global Strategy of Peace

by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup¹

The strategy of peace has to be global just as much as our military strategy in World War II was global. During the war, we were trying to

¹ Excerpts from an address which was made before representatives of nongovernmental organizations at Washington, D. C., on Jan. 15.

establish the conditions of a permanent peace. We and our Allies were involved in various types of common operations, military and other, in Europe, throughout the Pacific area, in the Middle East and Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and in the Atlantic. It is equally true today that, as we continue in our effort to establish peace, we cannot be indifferent to what goes on in any part of the world. The international Communist movement directed from the Kremlin is trying to undermine the free world in every sector. It encourages violence and aggression although it uses its satellites to do the fighting and dying for it. We naturally have both a practical and a moral interest in the independence, prosperity, and welfare of all countries and all peoples seeking freedom and peace.

It is the objective of our global strategy to prevent war if we can. If the Soviet Union insists on plunging the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the U.S.S.R., into war, the result of our global strategy will be that we and other free peoples will win. If the Soviet Union is convinced of the fact of our combined strength and united determination, it may be deterred from starting a war.

Nevertheless, we must realize that the international Communist movement likes to have a continuing state of tension in the world. Since they are able to create tensions by subversion and aggression, we have got to make up our minds that we must face a long period of tension. During that long period, we must remain strong. This will involve big sacrifices and continued effort. Those sacrifices and efforts will be far less than those required by war itself, and we must endure them.

Since the imperialist Communist movement is centrally controlled by the Kremlin and is worldwide in its activities, we, too, must maintain a solid front in the United Nations and act internationally. Unlike the Kremlin, we do not operate a slave system, and we must, therefore, understand the varying points of view among the free nations in order to maintain a system of international cooperation.

It is part of our global strategy to hold fast to our ideals and moral principles which give us a distinct superiority over the Kremlin. We are demonstrating all through the world that free societies offer a better way of life and more strength than can exist under the slave system. We can be strong and, at the same time, preserve the rights of the individual and the independence of the countries united in support of the principles of the United Nations. Those principles require the use of the procedures of peaceful settlement, and we are always ready to use them as we have repeatedly demonstrated.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Summary of Action, Part II: September 19-December 15, 1950

by Elizabeth Ann Brown

REPORTS OF SECOND COMMITTEE (ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL)

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries

The General Assembly, by unanimous action November 20, adopted six resolutions on economic development. The first resolution, having to do with technical assistance activities under General Assembly Resolution 200 (III), notes with approval that the Secretary-General has included in the United Nations budget for 1951 the same amount as was appropriated by the Assembly in 1950, and recommends that requests for technical assistance for economic development which cannot be financed with funds provided on the regular budget, should be eligible for financing from the special account for technical assistance for economic development established in accordance with Assembly Resolution 304 (IV) and with the actions of the Technical Assistance Conference.

The second resolution deals with the financing of economic development of underdeveloped countries; recommends that the Economic and Social Council consider practical methods, conditions, and policies for achieving the adequate expansion and steadier flow of foreign capital, both private and public, and pay special attention to financing non-self-liquidating projects basic to economic development; calls upon members and specialized agencies concerned to submit to the Council proposals bearing upon the resolution; and requests the Council to submit recommendations to the sixth Assembly.

Referring to the important problem of land reform and the fact that agrarian conditions in

many underdeveloped countries constitute a barrier to their economic development, the third resolution recommends that the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization and other appropriate specialized agencies, prepare and submit to the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council an analysis of the degree to which unsatisfactory forms of agrarian structure and particularly systems of land tenure in underdeveloped countries impede economic development and depress standards of living; calls upon the Council to consider this analysis and prepare recommendations to the Assembly with a view to improvement of agricultural populations, paying special attention to certain measures, including such matters as land reform, taxation policies, promotion of family owned and operated farms, and cooperative farms; and recommends to the Governments of underdeveloped countries that they avail themselves of facilities available through the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance.

The fourth resolution concerns the development of arid land. This resolution recommends that the Secretary-General prepare, in collaboration with competent specialized agencies, a report on the practical measures adopted for study of problems of arid zones and on technical and financial means employed by the specialized agencies; invites him to submit his report to the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council; and calls upon the Council to examine the report and to consider such measures as devotion of sufficient technical and financial means to study the relevant scientific and practical problems, promotion and coordination of United Nations activities to that end, and the furnishing of appropriate technical assistance to the governments concerned.

The fifth resolution deals with the volume and distribution of national income in underdeveloped

EDITOR'S NOTE: Part I of this article appeared in the BULLETIN of Jan. 22, 1951, p. 138.

countries and recommends that these countries devote special attention to studies directed toward calculation of their national income and its distribution; requests the Secretary-General and specialized agencies concerned to give most favorable consideration to requests for technical assistance for the above purpose; requests the Economic and Social Council to study and report on this question with special reference to various income groups and respective proportions and the amounts used in underdeveloped countries to meet their foreign commitments arising from loans and investments and the payment of services; directs the Secretary-General to prepare and submit a report to the Council; and requests him to avoid any duplication in this work with the study recommended in Economic and Social Council Resolution 294 D (IX).

The final resolution, entitled "Economic Development and International Economic and Commercial Policy," reaffirms previous Assembly action and requests the group of experts, to be appointed by the Secretary-General pursuant to an Economic and Social Council resolution dealing with this matter, to pay due attention in their studies to the influence that prevailing commercial policies have on national plans for the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Full Employment and Economic Stability

Four resolutions were adopted by the Assembly on December 12. The first, approved 43-5-1, notes the vigorous action taken by the Economic and Social Council in connection with full employment and invite governments to cooperate with the Secretary-General in carrying out the tasks entrusted to him by the Economic and Social Council.

The second resolution, which is concerned with the current world economic situation, was adopted unanimously and requests the Economic and Social Council, when examining the world economic situation during its twelfth session, to pay special attention to changes currently occurring in the international economic situation, with a view to recommending measures designed to make possible uninterrupted progress of programs of economic stability and development; invites the members of the Council to submit their views concerning the way in which the current situation has affected their economic progress and the prospects of continuing world economic expansion; and invites all other members similarly to submit their views in this field.

The third resolution, approved by 51-0-1, deals with guides for the organization and collection of economic data in underdeveloped countries and notes that the Economic and Social Council had recommended that governments should furnish the Secretary-General with a wide range of economic and statistical information. It recommends that

the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, taking into account different institutional circumstances in the underdeveloped countries, prepare material which may serve to guide governments and which should set forth the types of data necessary to provide up-to-date information regarding level of economic activity, employment, unemployment and underemployment, procedures, and methods suitable for obtaining and presenting such data, and other relevant suggestions.

The last resolution, entitled "Mechanization and Unemployment in Underdeveloped Countries," was adopted unanimously. After noting past Assembly action, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to impress upon the group of experts to be appointed by him, the necessity of giving due consideration to ways and means of preventing any aggravation of problems of unemployment and underemployment in underdeveloped countries that may occur as a result of the mechanization of production in certain branches of industry and agriculture, and measures of social security designed to insure that there will be no interruption in the income of workers temporarily unemployed through mechanization or technological progress; and requests the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies concerned to bear in mind this resolution of the Assembly in their work on this matter.

REPORTS OF THIRD COMMITTEE (SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL)

Advisory Social Welfare Services

On December 1, 1950, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution on advisory social welfare services prepared by the Economic and Social Council. The resolution authorizes the Secretary-General to provide certain advisory welfare services in accordance with the needs of and agreement of the governments concerned and to report measures which he takes to the Social Commission, which is to formulate recommendations concerning the action required to carry on essential advisory social welfare activities.

Long-Range Activities for Children

After approval of two amendments, one proposed jointly by Australia, Chile, Denmark, Ecuador, and Yugoslavia, and the other sponsored by Bolivia, Canada, Ecuador, and the Netherlands, the Assembly December 1 unanimously adopted a resolution on the continuing needs of children. In the resolution, the Assembly approves the policy of the Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund to devote more resources to development of programs outside Europe; expresses gratitude for generous contributions to the Fund, and renews appeal for

further contributions; recommends to member states that they develop and improve national child welfare services; and asks the Economic and Social Council to give greater emphasis to support of national programs to aid children within the framework of existing United Nations activities for development of underdeveloped areas and to explore the means of procuring and financing supplies. The resolution provides that the Executive Board of the Fund shall be reconstituted, that the Board shall formulate policies, determine programs, and allocate resources for the purpose of meeting through the provision of supplies, training, and advice emergency and long-range needs of children and their continuing needs, particularly in underdeveloped countries, with a view to strengthening permanent child health and welfare programs of countries receiving assistance; and that the General Assembly will consider the Fund's future after 3 years with the object of continuing on a permanent basis.

Draft International Covenant on Human Rights

On December 4, the General Assembly adopted three resolutions concerning human rights, the principal one by a vote of 38-7-12. After commending the Commission on Human Rights and calling upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission to continue to give priority to the draft Covenant in order that the Assembly may have the revised draft for the sixth session, the resolution states that the list of rights in the first 18 articles of the Covenant does not contain certain elementary rights, that the wording of some of these articles should be improved, and that account should be taken of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, and calls upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission to take into consideration in its revision of the Covenant (a) the views expressed during discussions at the fifth session of the Assembly and the eleventh session of the Council, including those relating to articles 13 and 14 and, with a view to the addition of other rights, those relating to rights set forth by the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia in specific documents and (b) the view that it is desirable to define the rights and limitations with the greatest possible precision. The resolution also calls upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Human Rights Commission to study a federal state article and to prepare, for consideration at the Assembly's sixth session, recommendations having as their purpose the securing of the maximum extension of the Covenant to the constituent units of federal states, and the meeting of constitutional problems of such states. The Commission is also asked to study ways and means to ensure the right of peoples and nations to self-determination and to prepare recommendations for the sixth session. Another section of the resolution provides for inclusion in

the Covenant of economic, social, and cultural rights and an explicit recognition of equality of men and women in related rights; calls upon the Council to request the Commission to include a clear expression of economic, social, and cultural rights in a manner relating them to the civic and political freedoms proclaimed in the Covenant, and to take steps to obtain cooperation of other United Nations organs and specialized agencies in consideration on such rights; and requests the Economic and Social Council to consider at the twelfth session the methods by which the specialized agencies might cooperate with the Commission of these rights. The resolution also calls upon the Council to ask the Commission to consider provisions to be inserted in the Covenant or in separate protocols for the receipt and examination of petitions from individuals and organizations on alleged Covenant violations and to report to the Council at its thirteenth session concerning those matters. The Secretary-General is requested to invite member states to submit by February 15, 1951, their views on the revised draft Covenant.

The second resolution, adopted by 36-11-8, requests the Human Rights Commission to include in the Covenant a prescribed article providing that the Covenant shall be applicable equally to a signatory metropolitan state and to all the territories, be they non-self-governing, trust, or colonial, which are being administered or governed by such a state.

The final resolution invites all states and interested organizations to adopt December 10 as Human Rights Day and invites all states to report annually through the Secretary-General on the observance of this day. It was approved by 47-0-5.

Freedom of Information

Three resolutions on freedom of information were adopted by the Assembly on December 14. The first, approved by 49-5-0, adopts the declaration of the Economic and Social Council to the effect that deliberate interference with radio signals constitutes a violation of the accepted principles of freedom of information; condemns measures of this nature as a denial of the right of all persons to be fully informed; invites governments of member states to refrain from such interference; invites all governments to refrain from radio broadcasts that would mean unfair attacks or slanders against other peoples and to conform to ethical conduct in the interest of world peace by reporting facts truly and objectively; and invites member states to give every possible facility so that their peoples may know objectively the United Nations activities in promoting peace and, in particular, to facilitate reception and transmission of United Nations official broadcasts.

The second resolution was adopted by 41-5-2,

and recommends to all member states that, when they are compelled to declare a state of emergency, measures to limit freedom of information and of the press shall be taken only in exceptional circumstances and only to the extent strictly required.

The final resolution, adopted by 44-0-12, appoints a committee composed of representatives of Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia to prepare a draft convention on freedom of information and to report to the Economic and Social Council at the thirteenth session, submitting recommendations, especially on the advisability of convening a plenipotentiary conference to sign a convention. The Secretary-General is requested to submit the Committee's report to governments, which are invited to transmit suggestions and observations by June 15, 1951. The resolution concludes with a recommendation to the Economic and Social Council to consider whether a conference of plenipotentiaries should be convened as soon as possible and not later than February 1, 1952, with a view to framing and signature of a freedom of information convention.

Refugees and Stateless Persons

On December 14 the Assembly adopted three resolutions relating to refugees and stateless persons and, in a secret ballot, elected Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart (Netherlands) High Commissioner for Refugees.

The first resolution, approved by 36-5-11, adopts an annex which constitutes the statute of the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees and calls upon governments to cooperate with the High Commissioner, especially by becoming parties to and implementing international conventions providing for protection of refugees, entering into special agreements with the High Commissioner, admitting refugees to their territories, assisting in promotion of voluntary repatriation, promoting assimilation of refugees, providing refugees with travel and other documents, permitting refugees to transfer assets, and providing the High Commissioner with information on the number and condition of refugees and laws and regulations concerning them. The Secretary-General is requested to transmit the resolution to states nonmembers of the United Nations with a view to obtaining their cooperation. The statute annexed to the resolution sets forth the functions and organization of the High Commissioner's Office and defines the categories of refugees to which his competence shall extend.

Under the terms of the second resolution, approved by 41-5-10, after adoption of a Venezuelan amendment and one sponsored jointly by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the Assembly decides to convene a plenipotentiary conference at Geneva to complete the drafting of

and to sign both the convention relating to the status of refugees and the protocol relating to the status of stateless persons. Governments participating in the conference, to which the Secretary-General is instructed to invite both members and nonmembers of the United Nations and in the work of which the High Commissioner is called upon to participate, are recommended to take into consideration the draft convention submitted by the Economic and Social Council and in particular the text of a definition of the term "refugee."

In the final resolution, the Assembly decides to address an urgent appeal to all states to assist the International Refugee Organization in efforts to resettle refugees remaining under its care, particularly those in need of permanent custodial care, and to postpone until the sixth session the examination of the problem of assistance raised by communications from the General Council of the International Refugee Organization. It was approved 40-5-7.

Complaint of Soviet Failure To Repatriate or Account for Prisoners of War Detained in Soviet Territory

The item on prisoners of war detained in Soviet territory was placed on the agenda jointly by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. On December 14, by a vote of 43-5-6, the General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled "Measures for the Peaceful Solution of the Problem of Prisoners of War."¹⁴ The resolution expresses the Assembly's concern at the information presented tending to show that large numbers of prisoners taken in the course of World War II have neither been repatriated nor otherwise accounted for; and calls upon all governments still having control of such persons to act in accordance with recognized standards of international conduct and various international agreements requiring that, upon cessation of hostilities, all prisoners should with the least possible delay be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation, and to that end to publish and transmit to the Secretary-General before April 30, 1951, the names of prisoners still held, the reasons for their continued detention and where they are detained, and the names of prisoners who have died together with date and cause of death, and manner and place of burial. The Secretary-General is requested to establish an *Ad Hoc* Commission composed of three qualified and impartial persons chosen by the International Red Cross, or failing that, by himself, with a view to settling this question in a purely humanitarian spirit and on terms acceptable to all governments concerned; the Commission is to meet after April 30, 1951, to examine information furnished by governments in accordance with the resolution, and, depending upon that information, to take further steps, if necessary, to facilitate the repatriation of prisoners of war.

¹⁴ BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1951, p. 73.

Governments are requested to make the greatest possible effort to search for prisoners of war whose absence has been reported and who might be in their territories. The Commission is to report as soon as practicable to the Secretary-General for transmission to the members of the United Nations.

REPORTS OF JOINT SECOND AND THIRD COMMITTEE

Plans for Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea

In the resolution, adopted October 7 on the problem of the independence of Korea, the Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council to develop plans for Korean relief and rehabilitation, and the Council accordingly met in special session immediately. The report, after committee consideration, was acted upon by the Assembly on December 1, 1950.¹⁵

The Assembly adopted two resolutions on this subject. The first of these, adopted by a vote of 51-0-5, establishes the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency under the direction of a United Nations Agent General; authorizes the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to undertake certain functions in relation to the relief program; directs the Agent General to coordinate his program with the Commission, to commence at such time as may be agreed upon by the Commission, the unified command and himself, to ascertain the requirements for supplies and services for relief and rehabilitation, to submit reports to the General Assembly through the Secretary-General, and to be guided in matters of administration by rules and regulations established for the operation of the United Nations Secretariat; and establishes an Advisory Committee of five states—Canada, India, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay—to advise the Agent General with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other economic problems. The Secretary-General, after consultation with the Korean Commission, is authorized to appoint the Agent General and to establish a special account to which should be credited all contributions in cash, kind, or services to the program. The Agent General is instructed to make use of existing facilities, services, and personnel through national and international agencies and organizations, to consult with the Secretary-General to ensure coordination of efforts, and to make use of the advice and technical assistance of the United Nations and specialized agencies. The resolution also requests these various bodies to assist the Agent General and calls upon all governments, specialized and nongovernmental agencies, pending beginning of operations by the Agency, to continue to furnish through the Secre-

tary-General such assistance as may be requested by the Unified Command. Countries not members are also invited to participate in financing the Korean relief program. The resolution concludes with a 16-point statement of general policy on relief and rehabilitation in Korea.

The second resolution, which was approved by a vote of 51-0-5, deals with financial arrangements for the Korean relief program and provides for a Negotiating Committee composed of seven or more members for the purpose of consulting with member and nonmember states as to the amounts governments may be willing to contribute toward financing the relief program. As soon as the Negotiating Committee has finished its work, the Secretary-General is requested to arrange an appropriate meeting of member and nonmember states at which they may commit themselves to their national contributions and the contributions of nonmembers may be made known.

France, Egypt, India, Canada, Uruguay, the United States, and the United Kingdom were appointed to the Negotiating Committee. This same group is also considering financial arrangements for the relief program for Palestine refugees.

REPORTS OF JOINT COMMITTEE TWO AND THREE AND FIFTH COMMITTEE

Coordination Between United Nations and Specialized Agencies

On December 1, the Assembly acted upon five related resolutions growing out of the Joint Committee's consideration of a number of aspects of the general problems of coordination and relations between the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

Resolution A, adopted unanimously, deals with the administrative budgets of the specialized agencies. These agencies are urged to intensify their efforts to stabilize their regular budgets by elimination or deferment of less urgent projects, to provide information concerning the estimates for expenditure of technical assistance funds, and to consider at an early date adoption of common financial and staff regulations modeled as far as possible after those of the United Nations. Members' attention is drawn to the necessity for prompt payment of their contributions. The Secretary-General is requested, in consultation with the heads of the specialized agencies, to pay particular attention in 1951 to further development of satisfactory arrangements for the provision of common services, particularly in respect of regional and branch offices, with a view to greater efficiency and economy and to report thereon.

¹⁵ BULLETIN of Nov. 27, 1950, p. 859.

Resolution B, also adopted unanimously, authorizes the United Nations Investments Committee to provide advice to a specialized agency at its request.

Resolution C, adopted unanimously, deals with concentration of effort and resources; requests each specialized agency to review the 1952 program during 1951, using the criteria already established; requests the Council and the specialized agencies to indicate, when new projects are adopted, which current projects may be deferred, modified or eliminated; requests the Council to review during 1951 the 1952 programs of the United Nations and specialized agencies and to report to the sixth Assembly on the results of the review; requests the Secretary-General to include in budget estimates a summary schedule of the estimated costs of the projects provided for in the United Nations and the specialized agencies' budgets; and urges that the efforts being made to insure fullest coordination of programs and activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies be vigorously prosecuted.

Resolution D, which was approved by a vote of 49-0-5, expresses the hope that those members not participating at the present time in the specialized agencies may find their way to assume or resume, as soon as possible, full participation.

Resolution E, adopted by 48-5-2, provides for the transfer of the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to the United Nations; authorizes the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the transfer on a mutually satisfactory date prior to December 31, 1951; and pays tribute to the Commission's accomplishments in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

REPORTS OF FOURTH COMMITTEE (TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES)

Report of the Trusteeship Council

The General Assembly, on December 2, adopted a series of 11 resolutions with respect to the report of the Trusteeship Council.

Resolution I was adopted by 45-0-7 and expresses confidence that the Council will continue to contribute effectively to achieving the high objectives of the Trusteeship System.

Resolution II, approved by 53-1-3, deals with the general procedure of the Trusteeship Council and recommends that the Council undertake a review of its procedure, bearing in mind the observations made during Assembly discussion.

Resolution III, which was adopted 53-0-2, refers to the annual reports of the Trusteeship Council; and recommends that, in future reports to the Assembly, the Council present in separate sections all the relevant data examined concern-

ing the political, economic, social, and educational conditions in each trust territory; include in each section the observations, conclusions, and recommendations of the Council on the topic under review; give, in each case, an account of the manner in which the administering authority has carried out each recommendation of the Assembly or Council; state its conclusion; and include, wherever practicable, maps of the trust territories.

Resolution IV, approved by 41-0-14, deals with the organization and methods of functioning of visiting missions; recommends that the Council undertake another review of this subject, taking into account certain suggestions made during the Assembly's discussion, and the advisability of such matters as arrangements for the length of stay of visiting missions in each territory, the number of territories to be visited, inclusion in their terms of reference of specific problems.

Resolution V, on the examination of petitions, was approved by 47-0-8 and recommends that the Council consider the possibility of constituting the *Ad Hoc* Committee on petitions as a standing committee to meet, if necessary between Council sessions, of requesting the administering authorities to submit observations on petitions within 2 months of their receipt, of studying other measures to improve the procedure, and of requesting the administering authorities to submit each year information concerning action taken on the recommendations of the Council.

Resolution VI, adopted by 33-11-12, is concerned with information on the implementation of Trusteeship Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to trust territories, and requests the Secretary-General to prepare a list of such resolutions and to report to the sixth Assembly on the measures taken by the administering authorities to implement such resolutions and, if no action has been taken, to set forth the reasons given.

Resolution VII was adopted by 47-0-6; with respect to educational advancement in the trust territories, it recommends that the Council continue to devote particular attention to long-range programs.

Resolution VIII, which was adopted by 54-0-1, is entitled "Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories." The Trusteeship Council is requested to study prevailing policies, laws, and practices in the trust territories relating to land, land utilization, and alienation of land, taking into account the present and future needs of the indigenous inhabitants and the future economic requirements of the territories, as well as social and economic consequences of transfer of land to nonindigenous inhabitants; and to make recommendations to the administering authorities concerning these matters.

Resolution IX was adopted by 51-0-2 and is concerned with technical assistance for trust territories. The attention of the administering au-

thorities is drawn to the facilities available under the technical assistance programs; the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies, and the Secretary-General are referred to the need to extend to the trust territories such technical assistance as they may be able to render and to establish a sound basis for the progressive development of the inhabitants; and it is recommended that the administering authorities make full use of the sources of technical assistance and submit to the Council information on all applications made in implementation of this resolution and the manner in which technical assistance received has been integrated into long-range programs.

Resolution X was adopted by 55-0-2 and recommends that measures be taken immediately to bring about the complete abolition of corporal punishment in all trust territories where it still exists.

Resolution XI, approved by 48-0-6, is concerned with the Ewe unification movement and related questions in the trust territories of French and British Togoland, respectively. The resolution recognizes the great importance of this problem and impresses upon the Council and the administering authorities the importance of finding an adequate solution as soon as possible; recommends that the administering authority of French Togoland investigate promptly certain practices complained of in various petitions to ascertain whether the methods of election applied insure that the views of all sections of the population are faithfully reflected and report thereon to the next Assembly for such action as it may deem appropriate; and requests that the Council devote a special chapter or subchapter of the next annual report to setting forth all steps undertaken in connection with the Ewe question.

Former Italian Colonies

On December 2, the General Assembly approved the draft trusteeship agreement for the territory of Somaliland under Italian administration by 44-6. The trusteeship agreement had been previously reviewed by the Trusteeship Council. There is attached to the approved trusteeship agreement a declaration of constitutional principles which forms an integral part of the agreement.

Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories

On December 12, the General Assembly adopted five resolutions on information from non-self-governing territories. It may be noted that the work of the Fourth Committee on this subject was in turn based upon the report of the Assembly's Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. Cuba and Pakistan were elected by the Fourth Committee as members of the Special Committee, succeeding Sweden and Venezuela.

Resolution I, adopted by 50-0-2, is concerned with technical assistance to non-self-governing territories and invites the administering members which need technical assistance for the economic, social, and educational advancement of their non-self-governing territories to submit their requests and recommends that they include yearly in the information submitted under Article 73 (e) as full a report as possible on all applications for technical assistance and the manner in which such assistance has been integrated into long-range development programs.

Resolution II, approved by a vote of 49-0-4, *inter alia*, takes note of the report of the Special Committee; approves the special report on education; notes with interest the special studies of UNESCO for education and training of teachers, expressing the hope that full account will be taken of such studies in the formulation of policies on this matter in the non-self-governing territories; approves the arrangements of the Special Committee for its work in 1951; and invites the specialized agencies concerned, with a view to the preparation of studies in respect of economic conditions and development to be considered by the Special Committee in 1951, to collaborate with the Secretary-General in the study of problems of the prices of tropical export crops and arrangements for their marketing, migrant labor in Africa, development of cooperative societies in peasant communities, and the economic value of preventive medicine.

Resolution III was approved by a vote of 37-10-9 and invites members responsible for the administration of non-self-governing territories to include in the information transmitted under article 73 (e) a summary of the extent to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is implemented.

Resolution IV, adopted by 32-13-13, refers to the use of comparable statistical information relating to the subjects treated under article 73 (e) of the Charter and invites the Secretary-General, in making use of such information, to obtain the consent of the member concerned and to take into account all elements necessary for scientific and objective comparison.

Resolution V deals with the development of self-government in non-self-governing territories and was approved by 41-0-8. The resolution takes note with satisfaction of the communication of the Netherlands with reference to cessation of the transmission of information on Indonesia and requests the Special Committee to examine such information as may be transmitted to the Secretary-General in pursuance of Assembly Resolution 222 (III).

Question of South West Africa

The General Assembly, on December 13, first voted on the resolution recommended by the

Fourth Committee. This resolution, which was defeated, after reference to the advisory opinion of the Court, would have requested the Union of South Africa to submit to the United Nations before June 1, 1951, a report on the administration of South West Africa during the years 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950 in accordance with the questionnaire adopted by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and to transmit to the Secretary-General, with any necessary comments all petitions relating to the territory, and would have established a Commission for South West Africa to be composed of 10 experts to assist the Assembly in consideration of the annual reports.

Following the defeat of the Committee resolution, the Assembly turned to a proposal which had been submitted jointly by Brazil, Denmark, Peru, Syria, Thailand, and the United States. After paragraph-by-paragraph voting on each of the provisions, the Assembly adopted the resolution by 45-6-5. The preamble of the resolution sets forth parts of the opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the continuing international obligations of the Union of South Africa with respect to the administration of South West Africa. The resolution accepts the advisory opinion of the Court; urges the Union Government to take the necessary steps to give effect to it, including transmission of reports on the administration of the territory and of petitions from the population; establishes a committee of five consisting of representatives of Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States, and Uruguay, to confer with the Union concerning procedural measures necessary for implementing the Court's advisory opinion and to report to the next session; and authorizes this committee to examine the report on the territory covering the period since the last report, as well as petitions and any other matters.

The Assembly adopted a second resolution also on December 13; by a vote of 30-10-16, the General Assembly approved reiteration of resolutions adopted at the first, second, third, and fourth sessions to the effect that the territory of South West Africa should be placed under the International Trusteeship System.

REPORTS OF FIFTH COMMITTEE (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY)

Advances From the Working Capital Fund

The Assembly, by a vote of 48-0-6, adopted, on November 16, a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to advance from the Working Capital Fund a loan not exceeding \$800,000 to the FAO, to finance the removal of headquarters to Rome.

Permanent Financial Regulations

On November 16, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which approves amendments to the financial regulations recommended by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, declares that the amended regulations are the financial regulations of the organization, succeeding those adopted at the second regular session of the Assembly, and expresses the hope that members will support adoption by the specialized agencies of these financial regulations with only such alterations as are required to meet the constitutional provisions and organizational structure of the respective agencies.

Organization of a United Nations Postal Union

Provision for a United Nations postal administration was approved unanimously November 16. The resolution takes note of an agreement between the United States and the United Nations for the establishment of a postal administration, requests the Secretary-General to proceed with such arrangements, authorizes him to appoint a committee empowered to give approval to designs for United Nations postage stamps, and requests him to report on the establishment and operations of the postal system not later than at the seventh Assembly.

United Nations Telecommunications System

Implementing previous action approving in principle the establishment of a United Nations telecommunications system, this resolution, adopted by 49-0 on December 12, instructs the Secretary-General to proceed with proposals for a modified telecommunications system, provided that the capital expenditure involved does not constitute a net addition to the budget, authorizes him to accept such voluntary contributions or donations as appropriate, and requests him to report to the sixth General Assembly.

Assessments for Apportionment of Expenses

The Assembly acted on the scale of assessments on December 14. It first rejected, by a vote of 21-5-8, a Soviet amendment deleting the revised scale of assessments for 1951, and replacing it by a statement that the present scale of assessments should apply in 1951. The resolution recommended by the Committee was adopted by a vote of 41-6-2, contains the scale of assessments for 1951 (the United States being assessed 38.92%); instructs the Committee on Contributions to review the scale of assessments in 1951 and report thereon at the sixth Assembly session; makes provision for contributions of Switzerland and Liechtenstein, who are nonmembers but parties to the Statute of

the International Court to its expenses, authorizes the Secretary-General to accept, at his discretion and after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Contributions, a portion of the contributions of members for 1951 in currencies other than United States dollars; and provides for the assessment of the new United Nations member, Indonesia, and for its contribution to the Working Capital Fund.

Status of Budgetary Authorizations for 1950

The General Assembly, on December 14, by a vote of 48-5-0, approved a resolution reducing the 1950 United Nations budget by 8 million dollars through the cancellation of the appropriation for the establishment of a permanent international regime for Jerusalem and protection of the Holy Places, and increasing the residual amount of \$41,641,773 by \$2,879,000 to cover various enumerated supplementary appropriations, making the 1950 budget a total of \$44,520,773.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1951

On December 15, the General Assembly took action on its 1951 budget by a vote of 50-0-5, the Soviet Union explaining her abstention in view of the inclusion of credits for bodies and measures to which it objected and alleged inflation of the budget. The budget for 1951, broken down in the resolution into detailed appropriations, amounts to \$47,798,600. A second resolution covering unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the financial year 1951 was unanimously approved and authorizes the Secretary-General to enter into commitments to meet unforeseen and extraordinary expenses under prescribed conditions.

The Assembly approved by a vote of 54-0-5, a final resolution maintaining the Working Capital Fund through 1951 at 20 million dollars, providing for the payment of advances by members to the Fund, and authorizing the Secretary-General, under prescribed conditions for certain purposes, to advance sums from the Working Capital Fund.

REPORTS OF SIXTH COMMITTEE (LEGAL)

Question of Majority

The Assembly, by a vote of 57-0-1, adopted the report of the Sixth Committee providing for a new rule of procedure according to which decisions of the Assembly on amendments to and parts of proposals relating to important questions shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.¹⁶ The new rule became effective immediately.

¹⁶ BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 825.

Permanent Invitation to Arab League

The Assembly approved, by a vote of 49-1-5, a resolution providing for a permanent invitation to the Arab League to send a representative to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer.

Reservations to Multilateral Conventions

On November 16, the Assembly took action on reservations to multilateral conventions. It first adopted, by a vote of 36-6-9, a joint amendment proposed by Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, Iran, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay instructing the Secretary-General to follow his prior practice with respect to the receipt of reservations to conventions, without prejudice to the legal effect of objections to reservations to conventions as may be recommended by the General Assembly at the sixth session. The resolution requests the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on certain technical questions regarding reservations to the Genocide Convention and invites the International Law Commission in the course of its work on the codification of the law of treaties to study the question of reservations to multilateral conventions and to report thereon to the sixth Assembly session. The resolution was approved by a vote of 47-5-5.

Report of the International Law Commission

The General Assembly, on December 12, 1950, adopted six resolutions growing out of the Sixth Committee's consideration of the report of the International Law Commission.

Resolution A, approved by 45-0-6, requests the International Law Commission to review its statute with the object of making recommendations to the sixth session of the General Assembly concerning revisions of the statute which may appear desirable, in the light of experience, for the promotion of the Commission's work.

Resolution B, which was adopted by a vote of 43-2-10, amends article 13 of the statute of the International Law Commission to provide that members shall be paid travel expenses and shall also receive a special allowance, the amount of which shall be determined by the Assembly. An amendment proposed by Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, India, Iran, Lebanon, Mexico, Panama, Syria, Turkey, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and adopted by a vote of 41-4-12, fixes the special allowance at \$35 per day.

Resolution C, approved by 45-2-5, provides that subject to any modifications which the General Assembly may make in the International Law Commission's statute, and without prejudice to such modifications, the term of office of the Com-

mission's present members shall be extended by 2 years, making a total term of 5 years from their election in 1948.

Resolution D, adopted unanimously, notes part II of the report of the International Law Commission dealing with ways and means for making the evidence of customary international law more readily available and invites the Secretary-General, in preparing his future work program in this field, to consider and report to the General Assembly upon the recommendations contained in certain sections of the Commission's report.

Resolution E deals with the formulation of the Nürnberg principles and, after reference to the report of the Commission and its formulation of the Nürnberg principles, invites members to furnish their observations and requests the International Law Commission, in preparing the draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind, to take account of the observations made on this formulation by delegations during the present session and any observations which may be made by governments. It was adopted by a vote of 42-0-6.

Resolution F, approved by 42-7-5, noting the fact that the Commission had been previously invited to study the desirability of the establishment of an international judicial tribunal for the trial of persons charged with genocide or other crimes over which it might be given jurisdiction and the report of the Commission thereon, establishes a committee of 17 members (Australia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Syria, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay) to meet at Geneva August 1, 1951, for the purpose of preparing preliminary draft conventions and proposals relating to the establishment and statute of an international criminal court; requests the Secretary-General to prepare preliminary draft conventions and proposals and to make necessary administrative arrangements

for the Committee. The Secretary-General is also instructed to communicate the Committee's report to members so that observations may be submitted not later than June 1, 1952, and to place the question on the agenda of the seventh session.

Regulations of Headquarters Agreement

On December 12, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which requests the Secretary-General to present to the Assembly any draft regulation within the provisions of the Headquarters Agreement which may be necessary for full execution of the United Nations' functions and decides that, if in the Secretary-General's opinion, it is necessary to give immediate effect to any regulation, he shall have authority to make such regulation and shall report any such action to the Assembly as soon as possible. This action has relation to the problem which may arise when the United Nations, under section 8 of the Headquarters Agreement, makes necessary regulations operative within the Headquarters district which, to the extent of their inconsistency with federal, state, or local laws of the United States, would have the effect of superseding them within the Headquarters district. The resolution was approved unanimously.

U.N. Distinguishing Ribbon for Korean Personnel

A resolution on ribbons, adopted on December 12, by a vote of 38-5-2, requests the Secretary-General to make arrangements with the unified command for the design and award of a distinguishing ribbon or other insignia for personnel which has participated in Korea in defense of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

† This article was prepared by Elizabeth Ann Brown, who is a Foreign Affairs officer, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State.

Presidential Mission to Japan

JOHN FOSTER DULLES APPOINTED SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

[Released to the press January 11]

The President has designated John Foster Dulles as his special representative with the personal rank of Ambassador to conduct, on behalf of the United States, such further discussions and negotiations as may be necessary to bring a Japanese peace settlement to an eventual successful conclusion.

Last September, the President authorized the Department of State to initiate informal discussions with interested nations on problems connected with a Japanese peace treaty. Mr. Dulles was designated by the Secretary of State to take charge of these discussions. It was contemplated, at that time, that, upon conclusion of the initial series of discussions, it would be necessary for a representative of the United States Government to visit Japan and confer with General MacArthur and, through and in cooperation with him, with Japanese leaders on the means of making further progress toward a peace settlement.

Mr. Dulles will, therefore, shortly leave for Japan as head of a Presidential Mission to carry on such discussions.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[Released to the press January 17]

John Foster Dulles, Special Representative of the President, expects to depart for Japan the first of next week by military transport plane. Mr. Dulles, as announced on January 11, will confer with General MacArthur and with Japanese leaders on the means of making further progress toward a peace settlement.

John M. Allison, a Foreign Service officer, has been assigned to the Office of the Political Adviser in Tokyo as special assistant with the personal rank of Minister and will serve as Mr. Dulles' deputy.

Accompanying Mr. Dulles on his trip, will be Assistant Secretary of the Army Earl D. Johnson, who has general responsibility for occupied areas; Maj. Gen. Carter B. Magruder, who has, for some time, dealt with occupation problems in both Japan and Germany; and Col. C. Stanton Babcock of the Department of the Army.

John D. Rockefeller III, who has had extensive experience in cultural, humanitarian, and social affairs, will serve in a consultant capacity to discuss with Japanese civic leaders opportunities for developing long-range cultural relations between the United States and Japan.

Robert A. Fearey of the Department of State and Miss Doris A. Doyle, secretary to Mr. Dulles, will also be in the party.

January 29, 1951

Scholarship Program by ECA

[Released to the press by ECA January 18.]

The Economic Cooperation Administration is establishing a scholarship program to bring 40 students from Formosa and Free China to the United States to receive 1 year's training in agriculture, engineering, public health, natural science, or social science.

The project looks beyond the immediate needs of economic and technical aid with the objective of training a core of personnel who can help with the ultimate rebuilding of Free China. Successful applicants will be required to return to Formosa or Free China after their training and continue work in the field of their study.

Contribution Made to Technical Cooperation Program of OAS

[Released to the press January 19]

The United States Government today presented a check for \$250,000 to the Organization of American States (OAS) as the initial United States contribution of a total pledge of up to 1 million dollars to the Technical Cooperation Program of OAS.

The check was presented to Dr. Alberto Lleras, OAS Secretary General, by Ambassador Albert F. Nufer, United States representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

Text of the communication from the Department to Dr. Lleras follows:

January 17, 1951

EXCELLENCY: Enclosed is a check for \$250,000 which represents the initial contribution of the Government of the United States to the Technical Cooperation Program of the Organization of American States. This amount is made available at this time because of the interest of the United States Government in making it possible for the Technical Cooperation Program of the Organization to get under way at the earliest possible time. With respect to such further payments as may be advanced by the United States Government, their availability will be governed by the extent and timing of pledged and actual contributions forthcoming from other members of the Organization in accordance with the conditions stated in the pledge of the Government of the United States.

Title IV of Public Law 535 of the Eighty-First Congress of the United States (approved June 5, 1950), which relates to United States participation in multilateral and bilateral technical cooperation programs, includes a provision which authorizes the President of the United States to make contributions to the Organization of American States for technical cooperation programs carried on by it and its related organizations. Chapter XI, Title I of Public Law 759 of the Eighty-First Congress (approved September 6, 1950), which contains an appropriation for expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of Title IV of Public Law 535, includes the following language:

Provided further, That the making of any survey or the advancement of any technical cooperation program

or the preparation of plans for projects does not constitute any obligation whatsoever on the part of the Government of the United States to make any loan or grant for the execution or construction of any project or for the completion of any program devised under title IV of Public Law 535, approved June 5, 1950: *Provided further*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to give written notice to each recipient of funds or beneficiary under said title that such assistance shall not be construed as an obligation on the part of the United States to make funds available for the construction or execution of any project and to report such action to Congress.

In as much as the Organization of American States, as the recipient of contributions from the Government of the United States for the Program of Technical Cooperation of the Organization of American States, is one of the recipients of funds under Title IV of Public Law 535, I have the honor to inform you that the making of any survey or the advancement of any technical cooperation program or the preparation of plans for projects in connection with the Program of Technical Cooperation for which the United States makes contributions shall not be construed as an obligation on the part of the United States to make funds available for the construction or execution of any project.

Accept, [etc.].

For the Secretary of State:

JOHN D. HICKERSON
Assistant Secretary of State

Vulnerability and Strategic Value of Near East Area

by George C. McGhee
*Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South
Asian and African Affairs*¹

Now, we'll take a look at the Near East and South Asia. This vast area of more than 500 million people bounds Russia and Communist China on the south for 4,000 miles. This area has close ties with Europe and the West. What happens there is of vital concern to us and the rest of the free world. None of these countries are Communist. If they are attacked, they will defend their freedom.

The peoples of the Near East and South Asia are increasingly disturbed by the threat of Soviet aggression and by developments in Korea and China. They realize their vulnerability and their relative weakness. The strategic Near Eastern bridgehead between Europe and Asia and Africa has been coveted by every would-be conqueror from Alexander the Great to Hitler. Soviet ambitions clearly include taking over, sooner or later, the inhabitants of the vast territory in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean areas.

These lands contain great resources—half the

world's oil, and important quantities of manganese, rubber, and other essential raw materials. They constitute almost half of the manpower resources of the free world. The Near East is, moreover, the gateway to the fabulous riches of the African continent, the uranium of the Congo, the copper, chrome, and industrial diamonds.

I want to highlight the response to the Communist challenge of two countries in this area which have troops fighting in Korea. I refer to Turkey and Greece. Both have extensive frontiers with the iron curtain. Both realize that their security depends upon the strength and unity of the free world. Both contribute to the defensive strength of other countries in the Near East—for which they act as a shield.

Moreover, these two countries have voluntarily and enthusiastically supported the larger cause of collective security through the United Nations in Korea. Although Korea is further away from them than it is from us, they realized that, if aggression were not stopped in the Far East, the forces of aggression would soon turn to a new victim—perhaps to them. Their contribution to the United Nations forces in Korea has been outstanding.

For instance, the Turkish brigade of 4,500 men is the equivalent, population-wise, to 34,000 American troops. We have all followed with admiration the fighting prowess of the Turkish soldiers in Korea. A few weeks ago, they volunteered for a dangerous rear guard action of very great importance. Although surrounded, they accomplished their mission and heroically fought their way out.

As for the Greeks, they have courageously defended their homeland against Communist aggression. Since World War II, Greece has lost as many men fighting Communist guerrillas in Greece as we have lost in Korea although their national population is only 5 percent of ours. Greece sent to Korea her best troops—thoroughly trained in mountain and commando-type warfare.

It is true that, in some of the other countries of the Near East and South Asia, the governments have felt unable to make a contribution to the United Nations effort in Korea. This has resulted from various factors, but more because of a feeling of military weakness than from any lack of desire to support the United Nations. Some states have, unfortunately, not seen eye to eye with us on all details of handling the conflict in Korea, but they have, through their spontaneous cease-fire effort, sincerely sought to restore peace.

With the growing strength which is resulting from our own rearmament program, new confidence and hope will be given to our friends in the Near East and South Asia that they and the rest of the free world can be defended against Communist aggression. There is a growing recogni-

¹ Statement made over NBC television program, *Battle Report*, on Jan. 21 and released to the press on the same date.

tion on their part that their own true interest calls for a step-up in their own efforts to strengthen their individual and collective defenses.

We must vigorously seek to increase such strength wherever we can. The potential of the free world is tremendous. It is great enough to assure ultimate victory in any conflict. If it is to be fully realized, we must achieve increasing mutual understanding and teamwork on the part of all the free nations.

Point 4 Agreement Signed With Saudi Arabia

[Released to the press January 18]

The United States and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia yesterday concluded a general agreement for technical cooperation under the Point 4 Program. Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced the signing of the agreement in Jidda by Saudi Arabian Finance Minister Shaikh Abdullah Sulayman and American Ambassador Raymond Hare.

Dr. Bennett welcomed the new general agreement as the first of its kind to be concluded with a Near Eastern country.

The general or "umbrella" agreements state the conditions of cooperation as prescribed by the Act for International Development, authorizing the Point 4 Program. They provide the framework into which agreements for specific Point 4 projects will fit.

The Saudi Arabian Government has already requested technical assistance in reclamation, irrigation, and underground water resources development. U.S. cooperation has also been requested in improving systems of Government accounting, finance and customs procedures.

In connection with the reclamation and irrigation project, which has been approved by the Technical Cooperation Administration, an aerial survey of the country's resources is being planned.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies most of the Arabian peninsula which lies between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The area of the Kingdom is about 3 times that of Texas, and its population is estimated at approximately 6 million.

King Ibn Saud has been taking progressive steps to develop his country and improve the standard of living of the people. He is currently devoting more than 15 percent of the country's revenues to the establishment of public works.

The Point 4 agreement just signed will extend that program and further encourage cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

French Prime Minister To Confer With the President

[Released to the press January 16]

René Pleven, the Prime Minister of the Government of the French Republic, has informed the President of the United States of America of his desire to proceed to the United States in order to discuss with President Truman and other officials various important questions of mutual interest.

President Truman has, accordingly, extended an invitation to Mr. Pleven to meet with him, and Mr. Pleven will be in Washington on January 29 and January 30.

Agreement With Netherlands on Looted Securities

[Released to the press January 19]

The Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, announced today the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Netherlands regarding claims by the Netherlands to looted securities.

Under the memorandum of understanding, a new program is to be adopted to frustrate the attempts of the Nazis and persons dealing with them to profit from the wartime looting of securities in the Netherlands. The memorandum marks a significant step in the implementation of important policy pronouncements by the Allies against looting during the war and in bringing to a conclusion in accordance with original objectives the wartime controls in this field. It is thought that successful action here may serve as a deterrent to predatory actions by any future aggressors.

During the war, the United States, the Netherlands, and other Allied Governments joined in the Inter-Allied Declaration Regarding Forced Transfers of Property in Enemy-Controlled Territory of January 5, 1943, and Resolution No. VI of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods, July 1-22, 1944. The Allies, thereby, served notice of warning to the enemy and persons dealing with the enemy that they reserved their right to declare invalid any loot transaction perpetrated in conquered territory, whether the loot transaction was in the form of force and duress or through more indirect means. Notwithstanding these warnings, the Nazi government engaged in considerable looting in the Netherlands of all kinds of property.

After the Netherlands Government came back into control of its territory, it submitted to this

Government a list of securities of American issue or denominated in dollars, claimed to be looted by the Germans from the Netherlands. Similar lists were submitted by other formerly occupied countries. This Government, then, amended its regulations governing security imports, General Ruling No. 5, so as to set forth, therein, a list of these securities, by serial number and other identifying data. General Ruling No. 5, as thus amended, required the deposit with the Federal Reserve Bank in New York of any securities listed which were brought into the United States and was intended to assist the Netherlands and other countries in a similar position by giving them an opportunity to assert their claims with respect to such securities when deposited.

However, the major portion of securities contained on the list were not deposited, and it became apparent that further action was required to bring the securities to light and enable the assertion of the claims of the Netherlands against such securities.

Under the present memorandum of understanding, a program is adopted which includes the issuance of an amended General Ruling No. 5 and a new General Ruling No. 5B which will require holders of securities identified in the rulings to deposit them. Holders of securities identified in Ruling No. 5B who fail to deposit face action by the Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice, at the end of 6 months to vest the rights in such securities. In this way, holders of the securities identified in General Ruling No. 5B will be under compulsion to deposit them so that the Netherlands Government may assert its claim to them. In the event that these securities are not deposited, the rights in the securities will be vested by the Office of Alien Property, which will, in due course, transfer such rights to the Netherlands or Netherlands nationals.

Holders of deposited securities will, after depositing them, be given an opportunity to establish the circumstances under which they were acquired, and, if the Office of Alien Property considers that they were purchased innocently, such purchases will be licensed, and the securities will be removed from present restrictions. The ultimate action which will be taken with respect to the securities identified in General Ruling No. 5 which are not deposited has not been determined, pending discussions with the countries in which the issuers are located.

Copies of the memorandum of understanding are also being made available. The memorandum includes as annexes the amended General Ruling No. 5 and the new General Ruling No. 5B which were issued today by the Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice. The Attorney General, in coordination with the Department of State, is issuing a press release setting forth in greater detail the provisions and background of these general rulings.

U.S. and Mexico To Discuss Farm Labor Agreement

[Released to the press January 17]

The United States and Mexican Governments will meet at Mexico City beginning January 26, 1951, to renew discussions held periodically regarding operation of the Mexican-United States farm-labor agreement. The talks will take on increasing importance now not only because of the expanded need for farm workers in the United States during 1951 resulting primarily from the "emergency" conditions but also because Mexico will be satisfied first.

The agreement of August 1, 1949, has provided the mechanism by which Mexican farm-labor surplus to Mexico's needs can enter the United States legally to perform vital labor on United States farms. The workers enter the United States only in the certified absence of adequate domestic workers under conditions agreeable to the Mexican Government which is duly concerned for welfare of its own citizens.

The discussions will give both Governments an opportunity to clarify and settle various minor difficulties which have arisen under the terms of the 1949 agreement and will provide still another demonstration of the effective cooperation existing between the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

Transport Agreement With Ecuador Amended

[Released to the press January 17]

The Department of State announced today an exchange of diplomatic notes between the Department and the Embassy of Ecuador amending the route annex to the bilateral air transport agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Republic of Ecuador signed on January 8, 1947, to provide for a route for an Ecuadorian air carrier.

Paragraph "B" of section 2 of the foregoing agreement has been amended to read as follows:

(B) Airlines of the Republic of Ecuador, designated in conformity with the present agreement, are accorded the rights of transit and of non-traffic stop in the territory of the United States of America, as well as the right to pick up and discharge international traffic in passengers, cargo and mail at Miami, Florida on the following route via intermediate points in both directions:

(1) Republic of Ecuador to Miami, Florida.¹

¹The original agreement provided for according such rights "at such time as the Government of Ecuador desires to commence operations."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings¹

Adjourned During January 1951

United Nations:		
Seminar on Public Personnel Management	Lake Success	Oct. 30-Jan. 30
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Asian Technical Conference on Cooperation	Karachi	Dec. 26-Jan. 2
Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labor: First Session	La Paz	Jan. 16-27
Fourth Meeting, International Association for Hydraulic Research	Bombay	Jan. 2-5
Who (World Health Organization):		
Standing Committee on Administration and Finance	Geneva	Jan. 8-21
Executive Board: Seventh Session	Geneva	Jan. 22-31
Fourth International Congress on Large Dams	New Delhi	Jan. 10-15
First Session, International Commission on Irrigation and Canals	New Delhi	Jan. 10-15
Sectional Meeting of the World Power Conference	New Delhi	Jan. 10-15
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Executive Board: Twenty-fifth Session.	Paris	Jan. 15-28
Joint FAO-Caribbean Commission Technical Meeting on Rural Cooperatives.	Port-of-Spain	Jan. 22-27

In Session as of January 31, 1951

United Nations:		
General Assembly: Fifth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 19-
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):		
Third Set of Tariff Negotiations of Contracting Parties	Torquay	Sept. 28-
Tripartite Conversations on Security Export Controls	London and Paris	Oct. 17-
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Latin American Training Center for Agricultural Statistics	San José	Jan. 8-
Indian International Engineering Exhibition	New Delhi	Jan. 10-
Centenary Celebrations of the Geological Survey of India	Calcutta	Jan. 10-
United Nations:		
Economic and Social Council:		
Committee on Draft Convention on Freedom of Information	Lake Success	Jan. 15-
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Regional Conference of Statisticians.	Rangoon	Jan. 22-
Trusteeship Council: Eighth Session	New York	Jan. 29-
Inter-American Commission of Women, First Regional Seminar	San Salvador	Jan. 15-
Intergovernmental Study Group on Germany	London	Jan. 30-

Scheduled February 1-April 30, 1951

FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: Third Meeting	Madras	Feb. 1-
Meeting on Agricultural Extension: (Training Centre for Agricultural Extension Workers in Latin American Countries).	Turrialba	Feb. 3-
Technical Meeting on Education in Home Economics and Nutrition Working Party on Rice Breeders: Second Meeting	Port-of-Spain	Mar. 12-
Working Party on Fertilizers: First Meeting	Bogor, Indonesia	Apr. 9-
International Cotton Advisory Committee: Tenth Plenary Meeting	Bogor, Indonesia	Apr. 9-
United Nations:	Lahore	Feb. 1-
Economic and Social Council:		
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:		
Submission on Iron and Steel: Third Meeting	Lahore	Feb. 12-
Committee on Industry and Trade	Lahore	Feb. 14-
Seventh Session of Commission	Lahore	Feb. 22-

¹ Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Calendar of Meetings—Continued

Scheduled February 1–April 30, 1950—Continued

United Nations—Continued

Economic and Social Council—Continued

Twelfth Session of Council	Santiago	Feb. 20–
Transport and Communications Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	Mar. 12–
Fiscal Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	Mar. 19–
Social Commission: Seventh Session	Geneva	Mar. 19–
Human Rights Commission: Seventh Session	Geneva	Apr. 16–
Population Commission: Sixth Session	Lake Success	Apr. 23–
Commission on the Status of Women: Fifth Session	Lake Success	Apr. 23–
Motion Picture Festival (Festival cinematografico)	Punta del Este, Uruguay	Feb. 15–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works: Third Session	Geneva	Feb. 12–
Governing Body: 114th Session	Geneva	Feb. 26–
Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations	Geneva	Mar. 27–
First Near and Middle East Regional Conference	Tehran	Apr. 9–
First South American Petroleum Congress	Montevideo	Mar. 12–
IMO (International Meteorological Organization):		
Extraordinary Session of the Directors	Paris	Mar. 15–
WMO (World Meteorological Organization): First Congress	Paris	Mar. 15–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Navigation Commission Airworthiness Division: Fourth Session	Montreal	Mar. 20–
Air Navigation Commission Operations Division: Fourth Session	Montreal	Mar. 27–
Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers	Washington	Mar. 26–
Lyon International Trade Fair, Thirty-Third	Lyon	Mar. 31–
South Pacific Quarantine Conference	Suva, Fiji Islands	Mar. 28–
International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission	Washington	Apr. 2–
Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	Apr. 2–
Milan Fair, XXIX International (Fiera di Milano)	Milan	Apr. 12–
Rubber Study Group: Eighth Session	Rome	Apr. 16–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Administrative Council: Sixth Session	Geneva	Apr. 16–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Special Committee on International Sanitary Regulations	Geneva	Apr. 16–

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Atlantic Fisheries

The Department of State announced on January 16 that the appointment of three commissioners to represent the United States on the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission was made by the President on January 15, 1951. They are: Hilary J. Deason, chief of the Office of Foreign Activities, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior; Bernhard Knollenberg, author and lawyer of Chester, Connecticut; and Francis W. Sargent, director of the Division of Marine Fisheries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts.

The Commission is being established by virtue of a convention between the United States and nine other nations which participate in the fisheries of the northwest Atlantic Ocean. Its purpose will be to provide the machinery for international cooperation in the scientific investigation and development of the fishery resources of the waters off the west coast of Greenland and the east coasts

of Canada and New England. The Commission will have no regulatory powers but will make recommendations to the respective Governments regarding measures which may be necessary for maintaining the stocks of fish which support the international fisheries in the convention area.

The convention came into effect on July 3, 1950, upon deposit of instruments of ratification by four of the contracting Governments. The ten countries which signed the convention are: Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States. Five nations have not yet deposited instruments of ratification, namely: France, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Spain.

By the final act of the conference, the United States was charged with the duty of convening the first meeting of the Commission as soon as possible after the convention came into effect and it is expected that such a meeting will be held at Washington within the next few months.

Cotton Advisory Committee

The Department of State announced on January 18 that the tenth plenary meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee will convene at Lahore, Pakistan, February 1, 1951. The United States delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Edwin D. White, assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture

Advisers

Stanley Andrews, director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

John H. Dean, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

James G. Evans, attaché, American Consulate General, Bombay

Rene Lutz, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Arthur W. Palmer, head, Cotton Division, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

Adviser and Secretary

Stanley Nehmer, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State

The International Cotton Advisory Committee was established in accordance with a resolution approved at the International Cotton Meeting held at Washington, September 6-9, 1939, by the governments of 10 of the major cotton-exporting countries of the world. At the fourth plenary meeting of the Committee, held at Washington in April 1945, provision was made for the expansion of its membership to include not only cotton-exporting countries but the governments of any countries substantially interested in the production, exportation, or importation of cotton.

The International Cotton Advisory Committee is an advisory and fact-finding organization, not a regulatory body. Its three major continuing objectives are: (1) to furnish information regarding the current economic position of cotton in the world; (2) to serve as a medium for the exchange of information on cotton conditions and on national policies affecting cotton, as well as of views and ideas designed to facilitate solution of problems affecting the world's cotton industry; and (3) to formulate recommendations and suggestions for international collaboration in studying and dealing with world cotton problems.

The forthcoming meeting will review the world cotton situation, placing particular emphasis on production and consumption of cotton, cotton competition with rayon and other man-made fibers, cotton stocks in different countries, and alternative uses of cotton. The ninth plenary meeting of the Committee was held at Washington, May 22-31, 1950.

Invitations to attend the meeting have been

extended to approximately 65 countries and a number of international organizations.

Rural Cooperatives in Caribbean

The Department of State announced on January 19 that a technical meeting on rural cooperatives in the Caribbean, sponsored jointly by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Caribbean Commission, will be held at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, January 22-27, 1951. The United States delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Kelsey B. Gardner, principal agricultural economist, Business Administration Section, Cooperative Research and Service Division, Farm Credit Administration, Department of Agriculture

Delegates

Wallace J. Campbell, director, Washington Office, Cooperative League of U. S. A., 726 Jackson Place, NW., Washington, D.C.

John H. Davis, executive secretary, National Council of Farm Cooperatives, 744 Jackson Place, NW., Washington, D.C.

Carlos M. Matos, Office of the Inspector of Cooperatives, Santurce, Puerto Rico

Luis A. Suarez, Puerto Rican Agriculture Extension Service, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Hector Zayas-Chardon, Puerto Rican Department of Agriculture, Santurce, Puerto Rico

The meeting, resulting from resolutions of the 1949 session of the FAO Conference and the tenth session of the Caribbean Commission, will afford experts on cooperatives from the Caribbean governments and from governments administering territories in the region an opportunity to exchange information and experience on cooperative problems and developments throughout the Caribbean region.

Among the items on the provisional agenda for consideration by the meeting are: a thorough discussion of obstacles, opportunities, and requirements for development of cooperatives in the Caribbean region; and possibilities or arrangements for collaboration and mutual assistance both within the area, including training facilities, finance, and research, and from outside the area, including provision of fellowships for study outside the area, advisory services, and assistance from the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Caribbean Commission in organizing programs for mutual aid.

Regional technical meetings of this type are regarded as an excellent means of developing practical policies and procedures adapted to the varying needs of different areas of the world. The first international meeting on rural cooperatives, sponsored by the FAO, was held at Lucknow, India, in October 1949; it was attended by representatives of FAO's member governments from Asia and the Far East.

The United States in the United Nations

[January 19-25, 1951]

General Assembly

Committee I—(Political and Security)—Debate continued in Committee I, January 19, on the reply received January 17 from the Peiping regime rejecting the United Nations statement of five principles on a cease-fire in Korea and subsequent negotiation on Far Eastern problems. Statements were made by seven members, and the proposals suggested ranged from endorsement of the United States position that the United Nations should adopt a resolution recognizing that the Chinese Communists had committed aggression in Korea to the continuation of efforts by the Cease-Fire Group. At the January 20 meeting, United States Ambassador Warren R. Austin opened the discussion by presenting a United States draft resolution which stressed seven points: it found the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not only aided the aggressors but has "itself engaged in aggression in Korea"; called on the People's Republic of China to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea; affirmed the United Nations determination to continue its anti-aggression action; called on all states to aid this United Nations operation, and to refrain from assisting the aggressors; asked that a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee urgently consider additional measures to meet this aggression; and, affirming that the United Nations policy continued to be aimed at cessation of hostilities and achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea, asked the General Assembly President to designate two other persons to form with him a good offices group to attain this end. Ambassador Austin stated, "This resolution recites the fact of Chinese Communist aggression in Korea and recommends action to meet that aggression. It announces our united will to meet that aggression and declares once more that the United Nations remains devoted to the principle that its objectives in Korea should be attained by peaceful means if possible, and establishes machinery which would be in readiness to seize any opportunity which might present itself to this end."

This resolution received the wholehearted support of the majority of the member nations who spoke that afternoon—Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Greece, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Panama, and Turkey. Three members—India, Indonesia, Iraq—proposed that further efforts be made toward working out a peaceful settlement with the People's Republic of China before considering the United States draft resolution.

On January 22 the Indian delegate, Sir Benegal N. Rau, opened the meeting by reading a new statement from the Chinese Communists, which the Indian Government had received in answer to its request for clarification of Peiping's reply of January 17.

In summary, the Chinese reply included the following: 1. If the principle of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea would be agreed upon and put into practice, then the government of the People's Republic of China would assume responsibility for advising the Chinese volunteers to return to China. 2. Regarding the conclusion of the war in Korea and the peaceful settlement of the conflict, two steps are considered necessary: (1) A cease-fire for a limited time period can be agreed upon at the first meeting of the seven-nation conference and put into effect, so that negotiations may proceed further; (2) All conditions for the conclusion of the war in Korea and for peace in East Asia must be discussed in connection with the political problems, as follows: (a) steps and measures for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; (b) settlement of all internal Korean questions by the Korean people themselves; (c) withdrawal of United States forces from Taiwan and Taiwan Straits in accordance with the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations; (d) other problems concerning the Far East. 3. The legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be insured.

In the light of this communication, Sir Benegal N. Rau stated that the 12 Asian-Arab nations had agreed they needed more time for further consultations and new instructions from their Governments and also, that no doubt other delegations would welcome some more time for this purpose; therefore, he proposed that the Committee adjourn for 48 hours.

Ambassador Austin opposed any delay in discussion on the United States resolution, stating that the Chinese Communist message afforded no reasons for this delay "while the blood of our sons is shed on the field of battle," and that the message was "a transparent effort to divide the free world and delay the exercise of the United Nations pacific functions. It is meant to postpone, delay, and procrastinate." However, after a lengthy debate, the Indian motion for a 48-hour adjournment was approved 27-23 (U.S.)-6.

The Committee reconvened the afternoon of January 24. Statements were made by Ecuador, Venezuela, Chinese Nationalists, Australia, and Paraguay in support of the United States draft resolution. United States Ambassador Warren R. Austin again reviewed the problems and stressed how vital it was for the free members of the United Nations to take immediate steps toward collective action.

He stressed the need for adoption of the United States draft resolution and pointed out that "The present stage of debate in this Committee reveals a situation which is confused and uncertain. We must not let our minds be taken away from essential facts and basic principles. The facts are not in dispute. The principles are the principles of the Charter. . . . It is a matter of common sense as well as of principle that no government can gain entry to the United Nations by force of bayonets and bullets. You can't shoot your way into the United Nations!"

A new draft resolution by 12 Asian-Arab states was circulated among the members but was not formally introduced. It recommended that Representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., France, Egypt, India, and Communist China meet as soon as possible to obtain necessary "elucidations and amplifications" of Chinese Communist reply to Committee's January 13 resolution and to make any incidental or consequential arrangements toward peaceful settlement of Korean and other Far Eastern problems; that the date and place of meeting to be fixed by the General Assembly President, with representatives determining same for subsequent meetings; and that the General Assembly be advised of results of the consultations as soon as possible.

Sir Benegal N. Rau (India), on January 25 formally introduced the revised draft resolution of the Asian-Arab states and urged that it be given consideration before the United States draft resolution. He also gave the text of the three questions contained in the message from the Prime Minister of Canada to the Prime Minister of India to forward to the Peiping regime for purposes of clarification of their reply of January 17.

The United Kingdom delegate, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, held that the United Nations should stand firm in Korea and do everything to repel aggression by force; no settlement contrary to the Charter could be countenanced but that all avenues for a peaceful settlement should be explored. The

United Kingdom fully agreed with the first five paragraphs of the United States resolution but had grave doubts about the wisdom of considering further measures before Peiping's intentions had been fully explored. Three of the five other members who spoke, Philippines, New Zealand, and Chile, supported the United States resolution; Egypt, a cosponsor of the Asian-Arab draft resolution, and U.S.S.R. were the other speakers. Discussion would be continued at the next meeting on January 26.

Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information

The meetings held on January 19, 22, and 23 were devoted to drawing up the preamble to the draft convention on Freedom of Information approved at Geneva in 1948, which was finally adopted 10-2-3. On January 24, by vote of 12 (U.S.)-1 (U.S.S.R.)-1, a new 2-paragraph text for article 1 of the draft Convention was adopted. It sets forth the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information without governmental interference and declares no contracting state should regulate or control means of communication in any manner discriminating against any of its own nationals or nationals of any other contracting state (as are lawfully within its territory) on "political grounds or on the basis of their race, sex, language, or religion."

Specialized Agencies

The World Health Organization's Executive Board opened its seventh session at Geneva on January 22. The most important problems on the agenda include consideration of WHO's long-range program, preparations for the fourth World Health Assembly, discussions of reports from expert committees, and examination of the Administration and Finance Committee's report.

Universal Postal Union

At a conference of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), which opened at Cairo on January 22 to study airmail postal questions, a U.S.S.R. resolution was introduced and adopted 5-3 (U.S.)-3 to seat a Chinese Communist representative. This resolution was strongly objected to by the United States, which had introduced a prior resolution to postpone consideration of the Chinese representation issue until the General Assembly had taken action and pending such consideration, to seat the representative of the Chinese National Government. The United States resolution was defeated by vote of 5-3-3.

U.S. Urges Noncompromise of Principles of Freedom of Information

*Statement by Carroll Binder, U.S. Representative on Special Committee
on Draft Convention of Freedom of Information¹*

During the 3 years of United Nations debates on freedom of information, my Government has had many opportunities to set forth its concept of this freedom and to suggest how it might be extended and safeguarded throughout the world. The record will show that the United States has been foremost among the governments urging the United Nations to promote and protect this freedom everywhere.

I shall confine myself now to matters which are directly relevant to the draft convention on freedom of information. I believe it is essential that our respective attitudes be made as clear as possible at the outset in order that we may know from the beginning where we are heading. This is especially important because the long debate which has already taken place in this document has, I believe, confused rather than clarified the real issue. I hasten to add that I am not referring to our present discussion.

To dispel this confusion, we must lay bare the basic need for freedom of information in the world today. The setting in which we meet is one in which freedom itself is under attack. It is not a new attack. Freedom has been under constant, unremitting attack by totalitarian regimes—Nazi, Fascist, and, now, Communist—during much of the twentieth century. Use is made of every weapon—political intrigue, propaganda, and even military force.

In this setting, each one of us must ask ourselves these basic questions: Will our actions here add strength to the force of freedom? Are we likely to advance and protect the principle of freedom of information? Or will our efforts evolve into a document which, in effect, will utilize the pres-

tige of the United Nations to legitimize certain restrictive governmental practices which do not now enjoy international respect? I suggest that the answer to these questions should be the only determining factor in our work.

What Is Freedom?

Each of us must seek to answer them in the light of his own understanding of this freedom. I should, therefore, like to summarize the principles which my Government strongly believes should underlie any convention in this field. I shall attempt to do so with all the candor which the subject warrants and I shall begin by asking: What is this freedom we are discussing?

Freedom of information is the basic communications system of a democratic society, and without it that society and that way of life cannot thrive. In my country, and in many other countries, it is the means by which common, everyday citizens seek and receive information about their work and about new methods of work; about their living conditions, good or bad, and the reasons for them; about their local officials, their state government, and their national government. It is the process by which they reach their decisions and make them felt upon those who govern, so that their country is ruled according to the wishes of the people. Therefore, when information is inadequate, when it is incorrect, when it is false, the decisions of our society are warped and misshapen, and the common good suffers.

But freedom is not only essential to a balanced political life. It is the source of intellectual, cultural, and scientific strength and independence. The individual must be free to express his aesthetic feelings according to his own motivations and to explore every avenue of thought. Whether he is an architect or artist, an engineer or writer, a stonemason or a teacher, his country develops and flourishes in its own richness only insofar as

¹ Made before the Special Committee of the General Assembly on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information on Jan. 17 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

he is enabled to develop his own talents to the limit of his capacity and in his own way.

Freedom of information is the right of every person to have access to all available facts, ideas, and opinions regardless of source and not only to the information approved by his government or any party. It is his right to test the official pronouncements of his government against the opinions of his fellow citizens and those held by other peoples; his right to advocate his beliefs through organs of his choice. It is his right to state his frank opinion of his public officials and those of other governments as well. It is his right to communicate freely with his fellow citizens and with those of other nations.

We believe that the exercise of this freedom is the inalienable right of every person. We believe that this freedom belongs to that relatively small vital area of the democratic process which must remain, as far as possible, immune from governmental interference. This is the absolute test of democratic government. To the extent that the exercise of this freedom is not free, no other liberty is secure.

Certain Limitations Considered

Freedom of information, like all forms of freedom, is subject to abuse and must, therefore, be subject to certain restraints. But such limitations must never go so far as to impair the basic freedoms. A doctor never prescribes the abolition of food to cure a stomach ache, even though the food may be the direct cause of the discomfort. The doctor knows from long study and experience that there are certain specific remedies that will alleviate the local suffering without impairing the patient's basic health.

Following this simple analogy, we believe that such limitations as must be imposed on freedom of information must evolve out of long and democratic experience in the use of this freedom. They must be such as to safeguard the maximum of freedom for each person. They must not be experimental in character, like regulations to control traffic in our streets, nor must they be applied to every transient irritant. They must always be subject to public criticism and to review by impartial judicial authority. And finally, we believe that such limitations as are necessary must, whenever possible, operate after the fact, as a means of penalizing proven and serious abuses, and not as a prior gag on freedom of speech. That is our understanding of this freedom and its proper use.

Now, to some, this concept may appear to be impractical. It will appear so if this freedom is confused with less fundamental liberties. It will seem so to some governments which, for various reasons, do not consider their people capable of reaching sound conclusions in the light of all available facts, or to governments which feel that they cannot wait for the public to make up its mind.

And, of course, this concept is extreme and completely impractical for totalitarian systems since it is the strongest weapon against dictatorship. But this is the only concept which my Government believes capable of promoting freedom of information, and, therefore, the only concept we can support.

Points of View on the Convention Explained

Now, the debate which has taken place in the United Nations on this subject has shown that there are, broadly speaking, three other main points of view with respect to this convention. There is, first of all, the totalitarian view as exemplified by the Soviet Union, which does not believe in freedom of information. This view maintains that freedom of information is to be guaranteed only to the extent that it furthers the doctrines and objectives of communism as practiced in the U.S.S.R. This is essentially the meaning of the guaranty set forth in the Soviet constitution. In practice, the governments which support this view have created a vast information control apparatus for the indoctrination of their peoples in the dogmas and dictates of the ruling party and for insulating them against all contrary facts and opinions.

These governments are engaged in a terrifying experiment to condition the minds of hundreds of millions of persons in an attempt to make them respond automatically to the commands of their rulers. In their hands, information has been transformed from a means of enlightenment and understanding into a political weapon taking any form or shape required by the situation. It has become a knife to assassinate reputations, a drug to dull the senses, or a poison to instill suspicion and fear.

Of course, when they advance their view in the United Nations, they have been careful to present it in the most disarming disguise. They have maintained that, to promote friendly international relations, it is first necessary to define what information is and then to suppress the dissemination of anything which does not conform to the definition. The suppression is, of course, to be accomplished by censorship and the definition is to be interpreted only by the government. With a few exceptions, the United Nations has seen the danger in these proposals, and, I trust, we shall not fail to do so now.

Another view apparently assumes that the real danger to freedom of information today is that it is abused by certain foreign correspondents and newspapers. Those who share this view seem to look upon this convention as a means of putting certain restraints on the work of journalists. They are willing to include in the convention some general language about freedom of information, but their primary concern seems to be to include certain specific curbs on journalists.

This is, I believe, a short-sighted and dangerous

point of view. This convention was never, as I understand it, intended to deal primarily or even directly with the work of journalists. I have understood its intent to be the promotion and protection of everyone's right to freedom of information. To distort it into a punitive measure directed at journalists would certainly be a mockery of everything the United Nations has attempted to do in this field. We must realize that undesirable checks placed on journalists would apply equally to artists and teachers, to lawyers and politicians—and, in the last analysis, to people like ourselves drawn from every walk of life. Even if the grievances against some journalists and newspapers are assumed to be real, this is certainly too high a price to pay to settle a few scores!

And, finally, there is what I have heard described as the "middle view." This is the view which accepts the fundamental principles of genuine freedom of information, but it is preoccupied with ways and means of insuring that the freedom will be exercised responsibly and that abuses will be punished. It is dedicated to insuring responsibility by law, and, apparently, it is not especially concerned that those who will administer the law may also determine the real content and meaning of the freedom.

Now, the real danger posed by this view is its stress on the need and desirability of arriving at some sort of compromise among the other dominant points of view. Those who hold this view seek to harmonize the maximum of liberty with the highest degree of discipline, and, while they shun the totalitarian conception of freedom, they do not rule out the possibility of arriving at some sort of working agreement with at least some aspects of it.

This is, in our opinion, the greatest danger facing this Committee. Compromise is an essential part of the democratic process. The people of the United States have learned to regard it as the key to the successful functioning of their Government. My Government has, on many occasions, also demonstrated its willingness to apply it to its international relations. But we must make a careful distinction between compromises relating to the way in which fundamental principles are to be executed and compromises of the principles themselves.

We are convinced that the fundamental principles of freedom of information cannot be the subject of compromise. We must, therefore, ask those who urge compromises what they propose to achieve by them. It is obvious to all, by now, that the totalitarian states will not, and indeed they cannot, agree to any compromise as regards their basic doctrines. Clearly, then, the likely result of a compromise in this area would be to weaken and dilute the democratic concept of freedom by pulling it down toward a lower common denominator. To seek compromises merely for the sake of reach-

ing some sort of agreement, even among the non-totalitarian points of view, would hardly promote freedom. It is much more likely to restrict it.

U. S. Opposition to Compromises

There are those who sincerely feel that we must reach some agreement or the prestige of the United Nations will suffer. But it will suffer far more if we agree on measures which entail repressive limitations on free speech and the free press. I would summarize the position of the United States on this matter by saying that we are anxious to participate in any effort to reach agreement on measures to further the cause of freedom of information. But we are strongly opposed to any compromise which is likely to endanger that freedom, regardless of its motivation.

I have felt it necessary to review frankly the background of this convention in order to make absolutely clear the frame of mind in which my Government approaches the task before this Committee. I must state with equal frankness that we do not believe that the cause of freedom of information will be furthered by an attempt to complete this convention now. The debates which have already taken place on this matter suggest that the convention, which was intended to advance this freedom, is more likely to restrict it. This is not a hasty conclusion, nor am I attempting to prejudge our work. It is a conclusion based on 3 years of discussion and negotiation not only in formal committee meetings but in many informal talks and in exchanges of views with a majority of the foreign offices of the members of the United Nations. Unless many governments have now changed their minds and will no longer press some of the proposals advanced in the past, it is difficult to see how we can hope to arrive at any agreement, let alone a constructive agreement worthy of the United Nations.

My Government is convinced that it would be far preferable to acknowledge that we have reached a temporary impasse and to await the development of the draft International Covenant on Human Rights. The draft Covenant now contains provisions in article 14 which, in our opinion, embody the maximum constructive agreement now attainable on this difficult subject. Moreover, we cannot see that this proposed convention would add anything of concrete and positive value to the guaranty now set forth in the draft Covenant. But we do see clearly the prospect of adding undesirable limitations and restrictions.

That is why I would urge this Committee to recommend that this convention be held in abeyance until we have taken definite action on the Covenant on Human Rights. Only then, will we be in a position to determine to what extent it might be possible to advance still more the cause of this freedom. And, only then, would we really know what it might be desirable to add to the

guaranty contained in the Covenant. This is not only more logical; it is also more realistic and practical. To proceed now with the completion of a more specific convention would, in our opinion, only add to the difficulties in the way of a successful Covenant.

If the Committee should decide, nevertheless, to make still another attempt, we must stand on the principles I have outlined.

Mr. Chairman, we are a small group discussing a subject which has already been debated at great length. As we sit here, momentous decisions are being considered by the United Nations, and we are apt to feel that our work has no great significance. But our work is of the greatest significance and, what is more, it is related to the discussions which are under way elsewhere in this Organization.

The remarkable advances which have been made in the facilities for mass communications have created an instrument whose potentialities for good

or evil have never before been available. It is being utilized by a few governments as means of forceful persuasion and as a cloak for policies and actions which their peoples would never willingly accept if given a free and informed choice. Now, more than ever before, it is vitally important to see to it that all facts and opinion receive the widest dissemination in order that people everywhere may have a chance to seek the truth and to make up their own minds.

We have a free choice. We can either face up to this great challenge and avoid any action which might hamper still more the spread of facts and ideas, or we can seek escape into the realm of purely verbal agreements which may only serve to strengthen the hand of those whose actions are responsible for the grave threat to world peace. I trust this Committee will keep its eyes on the real issue and not permit itself to add to the confusion and indecision which endanger the free world at this moment.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

The Treaty With Canada Concerning Uses of the Waters of the Niagara River. S. Ex. Rept. 11, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany Executive N, 81st Cong., 2d sess.] 17 pp.

Claims Convention With Panama Signed January 26, 1950. S. Ex. R. 13, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany Executive I, 81st Cong., 2d sess.] 4 pp.

Amending the War Claims Act of 1948, As Amended, With Respect to Hearings, Examinations, or Investigations. H. R. 2705, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 7802] 6 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Exempt From Duty Sound Recordings For News Broadcasts. H. R. 2728, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8726] 2 pp.

Exempting From Duty Articles Imported From the Virgin Islands Which Contain Duty-Free Foreign Materials. H. R. 2737, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 6343] 2 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended, With Respect to Sound-Recording Materials for Use in Connection With Moving-Picture Exhibits and News Reels. H. R. 2738, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 7447] 4 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Provide for Exemption From Duty of Certain Sound Recordings Imported by the Department of State. H. R. 2739, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8514] 2 pp.

American-Mexican Treaty Projects. H. R. 2741, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 6304] 6 pp.

Temporary Appropriations. H. R. 2748, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 512] 1 p.

Implementation of the Tuna Conventions. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives [To accompany H. R. 8945]. A bill to give effect to the convention for the establishment of an international commission for the scientific investigation of tuna, signed at Mexico City January 25, 1949, by the United States and the United Mexican States, and the convention for the

establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, signed at Washington, May 31, 1949, by the United States and the Republic of Costa Rica, and for other purposes. H. R. 2757. 15 pp.

Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property (German Enemy Assets). Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives [To accompany H. J. Res. 516]. A joint resolution authorizing the President, or such officer or agency as he may designate, to conclude and give effect to agreements for the settlement of intercustodial conflicts involving enemy property. H. R. 2770. 27 pp.

Taxes on Coconut Oil From the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. H. R. 2753, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. R. 8992] 3 pp.

Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property (German Enemy Assets). Hearings before the Subcommittee on Settlement of Intercustodial Conflicts Involving Enemy Property of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on H. J. Res. 475. Joint resolution authorizing the President or such officer or agency as he may designate to conclude and give effect to agreements for the settlement of intercustodial conflicts involving enemy property, July 12, 1950. 30 pp.

Thirty-first Report on Lend-Lease Operations. Message from the President Transmitting the thirty-first report on Lend-Lease operations, for the period ending March 31, 1950, furnished in accordance with section 5, subsection (b) of the act of March 11, 1941 (55 Stat. 32; 22 U.S.C. sec. 414 (b)). H. Doc. 666, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1 p.

International Labor Organization. Message from the President transmitting a message on the International Labor Organization. H. Doc. 676, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 20 pp.

Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation To Provide Military Assistance to Foreign Nations. Communication from the President transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation, for the fiscal year 1951, of \$4,000,000,000 To Provide Military Assistance to Foreign Nations. H. Doc. 670, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 4 pp.

Background Information on Korea. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs pursuant to H. Res. 206. A resolution authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs To Conduct Thorough Studies and Investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee. H. R. 2495, 81st Cong., 2d sess. 74 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1951. The Department of State. 403 pp.

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin. No. 81-13. Hearings before the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session on H. J. Res. 271 approving the agreement between the United States and Canada relating to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin with the exception of certain provisions thereof; expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the negotiation of certain treaties; providing for making the St. Lawrence Seaway self-liquidating; and for other purposes, April 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, May 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 1950. (Department of State, p. 95) 567 pp.

The Midyear Economic Report of the President Transmitted to the Congress, July 1950, together with a report to the President, The Economic Situation at Midyear 1950 by the Council of Economic Advisers. H. Doc. 644, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 160 pp.

Facilitating Deportation of Aliens. S. Rept. 2239, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 10] 11 pp.

Continuing Until the Close of June 30, 1951, the Suspension of the Duties and Import Taxes on Metal Scrap. S. Rept. 2259, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 5327] 3 pp.

Taxes on Coconut Oil From the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. S. Rept. 2260, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 8992] 2 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended, With Respect to Sound-Recording materials for Use in Connection With Moving-Picture Exhibits. S. Rept. 2267, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 7447] 3 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 To Exempt From Duty Sound Recordings for News Broadcasts and in Connection With Moving-Picture News Reels. S. Rept. 2268, 81st Cong., 2d sess. [To accompany H. Rept. 8726] 2 pp.

U. N. Collective Action—Continued from page 169

By doing these things, the General Assembly would decide in principle that collective measures should be taken to meet the aggression in Korea. In our view, it would be well for the Assembly to call upon some such body as the Collective Measures Committee to consider what future collective measures should be taken. We believe that this body should undertake this study immediately and should report back to the General Assembly as soon as possible with its recommendations to the members.

My Government believes that the General Assembly should also reaffirm that the policy of the United Nations is to bring about a cease-fire in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement and the achievement of the United Nations objectives in Korea, by peaceful means. For this purpose we believe there should be in existence a United Nations group which will at all times be ready to use its good offices to this end, whenever the Peiping regime decides that it prefers peace to armed aggression against the United Nations.

I believe that for the common cause of collective security, the great majority of members here present will want to choose this course. We can do no less if the United Nations is to maintain its integrity and the principle of collective security is to survive.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Chiefs of U.S. Missions To Meet in Europe and Near East

[Released to the press January 17]

Continuing the practice of holding periodic informal conferences of United States diplomatic officials to exchange views and discuss questions of mutual interest, a series of meetings is to be held in Europe and the Near East in the near future.

The chiefs of mission of United States posts in Eastern Europe will meet at Paris between January 30 and February 2. Attending the meeting will be Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Alan G. Kirk; Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Ellis O. Briggs; Ambassador to Poland, Joseph Flack; Chargé d'Affaires at Bucharest, James W. Gantenbein; and Chargé d'Affaires at Budapest, Gerald A. Mokma. Assistant Secretary George W. Perkins will preside.

A second meeting will be held at Frankfurt between February 5 and 8. Present during these conversations, will be Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter S. Gifford; Ambassador to France, David K. E. Bruce; Ambassador to Belgium, Robert D. Murphy; Special Representative for the ECA, Milton Katz; United States High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy; United States High Commissioner for Austria, Walter J. Donnelly; and the deputy United States Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Charles M. Spofford. The Department will be represented by Assistant Secretary Perkins, who will preside, and by Henry A. Byroade, Director of the Office of German Affairs of the Department of State.

The chiefs of United States diplomatic missions in the Arab States, Israel, Greece, Turkey, and Iran will meet in another conference, to be held from February 14 through February 21 at Istanbul.

United States diplomatic representatives who will attend the conference include the American Ambassadors at Cairo, Jefferson Caffery; Athens, John E. Peurifoy; Ankara, George Wadsworth; Tehran, Henry F. Grady; Baghdad, Edward S. Crocker; Jeddah, Raymond A. Hare; Ambassador designate to Israel, Monnett B. Davis; the United States representative on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, Ambassador Ely E. Palmer; the United States representative on the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, Ambassador John B. Blandford; the American Ministers at Beirut, Lowell C. Pinkerton; Damascus, Cavendish W. Cannon; and the American Chargé d'Affaires at Amman, A. David Fritzlan. The Department will be represented by Assistant Secretary George C. McGhee, who will preside, and by the director of the Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, William M. Roundtree; and the director of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, G. Lewis Jones.

Admiral Robert B. Carney, Commander in Chief, Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean Area, is also expected to be present at the Istanbul conference.

James G. McDonald Resigns as Ambassador to Israel

On December 18, 1950, President Truman accepted the resignation of James G. McDonald as American Ambassador to Israel. For the text of Mr. McDonald's letter of resignation and the President's reply, see White House press release of that date.

THE DEPARTMENT

Executive Order 10206 Provides for Support of U.N. Activities on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes¹

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, including the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (59 Stat. 619), as amended, hereinafter referred to as the Act, and the act of August 8, 1950 (Public Law 673, 81st Congress), and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Secretary of State, upon the request by the United Nations for cooperative action, and to the extent that he finds that it is consistent with the national interest to comply with such request, is authorized, in support of such activities of the United Nations as are specifically directed to the peaceful settlement of disputes and not involving the employment of armed forces contemplated by Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to request the Secretary of Defense to detail personnel of the armed forces to the United Nations, and to furnish facilities, services, or other assistance and to loan supplies and equipment to the United Nations in an agreed fair share of the United States under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense shall jointly determine and in accordance with and subject to the provisions of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of section 7 (a) of the Act, and the Secretary of Defense is authorized to comply with the request of the Secretary of State, giving due regard to the requirements of the national defense.

2. The Secretary of State, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of section 7 (b) of the Act, shall require reimbursement from the United Nations for the expense thereby incurred by the United States whenever personnel or assistance is made available to the United Nations, except that in exceptional circumstances, or when the Secretary of State finds it to be in the national interest, he may, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense, waive, in whole or in part, the requirement of such reimbursement.

3. The Secretary of Defense, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of section 7 (a) (1) of the Act, may authorize personnel of the armed forces detailed to the United Nations to accept directly from the United Nations (a) any or all of the allowances or perquisites to which they are entitled under the first proviso of section 7 (a) (1) of the Act, and (b) extraordinary expenses and perquisites incident to such detail.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 19, 1951.

Appointment of Officers

Richard H. Heindel as deputy director, Office of Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs, effective December 10, 1950.

Nancy B. Chappellear as chief, Departmental Staff of Commission on Information, effective January 15, 1951.

Elinor P. Reams as chief, Departmental Staff of Commission on Educational Exchange, effective January 15, 1951.

Henry R. Labouisse, Jr., as director, Planning Staff, Bureau of European Affairs, effective January 5, 1951.

¹ 16 Fed. Reg. 529.

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